

# Sociology and Social ... Research ... AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Social Influence Among Children . . . . .	171
R. G. HUNT AND V. SYNNERDAHL	
Attitudes Toward Parents in China . . . . .	175
THEODORE H. E. AND WEN-HUI CHEN	
Administrative Role in Desegregation . . . . .	183
ROBERT J. DWYER	
Job Satisfaction and Leisure Time . . . . .	189
A. T. V. MATTHEWS AND B. ABU-LABAN	
Social Work and Sociology . . . . .	197
JOSEPH W. EATON	
British National Health Service . . . . .	205
JOEL B. MONTAGUE, JR.	
Lower Levels of Industrial Leadership . . . . .	209
AMITAI ETZIONI	
Mannheim and Systematic Sociology . . . . .	213
EMORY S. BOGARDUS	
Social Problems and Welfare 218	Peoples and Culture . . . . . 225
Social Theory and Research 230	

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*January-February 1958*

## SOCIAL INFLUENCE AMONG KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN AN EXPERIMENTAL NOTE

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Although a very considerable literature has accumulated dealing with various facets of social influence, the examination of developmental aspects of this problem area has not kept pace. This is all the more surprising, since what investigations have been reported indicate that exploration of this field may prove a fruitful source of hypotheses concerning important features of the psychology of childhood, as well as the phenomenon in question.

The present study was an exploratory investigation of the operation of social influence processes among a small group of kindergarten children. Its main reference point was provided by the extensive work of Berenda.<sup>1</sup> Using the experimental procedure devised by Asch, this investigator studied responses to social pressure among children ranging in age from 7 through 13, drawn from grades 2 through 7, and covering a fair range of intelligence.

Berenda found a tendency for younger children (7 through 9) to follow the group more frequently than did older children (10 through 13). While she reports that the younger children seemed to show less personal involvement in the experiment, Berenda felt they exhibited greater dependence upon the group. As a result, they tended to be more susceptible to influence by social pressures arising within the group.

Berenda's data suggest susceptibility to social influence to be some decreasing function of age. Whether this is true, and, if so, the precise nature of the function, is unknown.

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<sup>1</sup> Ruth W. Berenda, *The Influence of the Group on the Judgments of Children* (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1950).

It was felt that the present investigation could help to shed some light upon this problem by its extension to a group which is both younger and at a beginning step in its integration into group functioning.

*Procedure.* The general procedure developed by Asch<sup>2</sup> was used, though a number of liberties were taken with it. The writers felt this to be more or less justified, since they were more interested, at this point, in general qualitative aspects of the children's performance than in precise quantitative analysis.

One of the more important modifications in the Asch procedure was the method of having "stooges" give incorrect responses on all trials. This made for an easier task for the young confederates and minimized variations in their performance. It might be noted in passing that, like Berenda, the present experimenters found the younger "stooges" to have some difficulty in giving incorrect answers.

A group of ten kindergarten children (all from the same class) served as subjects. They ranged in age from 5 to 6 years, were about evenly distributed among the two sexes, and were unselected as to I.Q. Three children from the same class served as the "instructed majority,"<sup>3</sup> the experimenter being the classroom teacher.

Subjects judged the lengths of lines as per the Asch procedure in two series of nine judgments each for a total of 18 judgments. In general, the instructed confederates functioned efficiently and followed instructions surprisingly well.

Each child was instructed to do his best to give correct answers and appeared to cooperate fully. In fact, the children seemed to enjoy the "game," many of them asking when they could play it again.

*Results.* As was noted above, only general findings will be reported without extensive quantitative analysis. This seems dictated by the small N coupled with the difficulty in producing a fully standardized experimental situation.

The median number of "yielding" responses was one with a range of 0 to 8 (of a possible 18). None of the children followed the group on all trials, while four (40 per cent) followed the group on none of the trials.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments." In G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, eds., *Readings in Social Psychology*. Rev. ed. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 2-11.

<sup>3</sup> The "instructed majority," or "stooges," were confederates of the experimenter and had been instructed prior to the experiment in the responses which they were to give.

<sup>4</sup> The "group" here refers to the "instructed majority" or "stooges" who formed the group context in which each critical group functioned.

Of a total of 180 judgments, only 21 (12 per cent) were in the direction of the group judgment. Five judgments (3 per cent) were incorrect but not consistent with the group judgments, while 154 responses (85 per cent) were correct.

Qualitative aspects of the performance of these children are consistent with the above findings. While the children were cooperative and interested, they were (in general) hardly aware of any "pressure." They gave their own judgments and regarded the "stooges" as curiosities who were obviously wrong. ,

One example can serve to characterize the attitude of the critical subjects. After several judgments had been made, on all of which the "stooges" gave incorrect judgments, one critical subject turned to the nearest stooge and said, "Listen to me, I'll tell you the right ones." Yet only one subject (a female) appeared to have any inkling that the other children had been coached.

*Discussion.* It is evident from the above results that the children employed in the present study were but little influenced by the social pressures ostensibly developed in the experimental situation. In fact, it seems safe to say of these children that, for the most part, there actually was no "social pressure." It is quite apparent, as is probably well known, that so-called social pressure does not arise from the group *per se*, but from an interaction between the individual and the group.

The present findings contrast with those of Berenda. It would appear that sensitivity to social pressure, or even perception of social pressure, does not bear a simple relationship to age. It may be, as Duncker<sup>6</sup> suggests of still younger children, that the awareness of the five- to six-year-old of social contingencies is simply not wide enough to permit this sort of social influence.

On the other hand, it may be that the socialization of the kindergarten child has not progressed to the point of developing the kinds of group orientations which characterize the slightly older child. Perhaps he just hasn't been in school long enough.

Of course, there is nothing to preclude the operation of both of these factors and/or still others. In any event, further and more extensive analysis, from a developmental perspective, of both the operation of social influence and the "meanings" attached to group participation seems called for.

<sup>6</sup> K. Duncker, "Experimental Modifications of Children's Food Preferences Through Social Suggestion," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 33:489-507.

*Summary.* A group of ten five- to six-year-old kindergarten children participated in an Asch-type social influence experiment. The children exhibited very little tendency to go along with the group judgments and, in fact, seemed hardly aware of any "social pressure," even though they were cooperative and interested in the experiment.

## CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD PARENTS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, important changes have taken place in its political, economic, social, and cultural policies. In social ethics and morals, the present Communist policy is in many ways different from that of a few years ago. The marriage law, which was introduced in 1950, has been given new interpretations in the light of changed conditions. Family relationships which the Communist attempted to foster a few years ago are no longer favored today. The nature of the changes that have taken place in recent years is clearly reflected in the attitudes toward parents. Five or six years ago, the Chinese Communists were encouraging young people to turn against their parents. Today, an opposite trend is in evidence.

The Communists talk much of the need of a "new morality" in China or what they call "Communist morality." The essence of this "new morality" is that the individual must surrender completely to the group, to the "revolution," and to the Party and state. Loyalty to the state (which, in turn, is directed by the Communist Party) must supersede all other loyalties. Since a major obstacle to this all-embracing loyalty was the traditional family loyalty of the Chinese, the Communists set out a few years ago to break the old family ties and to ridicule the traditional loyalties as vestiges of feudal society. In the name of democracy and freedom, children were taught to rebel against their parents, and in the name of patriotism or the revolutionary cause, young people were encouraged to leave their homes and family ties to take up "revolutionary tasks" at places far away from the home.

An important phase of the effort to uproot the old family loyalties was a campaign against parental respect and filial piety. This campaign later proved to be more successful than the Communists intended. To destroy the old was easy, but to build a new positive morality was not so simple. The attack on filial piety resulted in complete neglect of the parents. The attitude of young people toward their parents underwent a radical change. The long-accepted responsibility of supporting and caring for aged parents was now rejected. Even helpless and invalid parents

were left without care. The result was the birth of a new social problem which was inimical to the stability which the Communists wanted to achieve when they began to consolidate their power. Neglected and unwanted aged people wandered in the streets. Some found that the only way out was to commit suicide. Fathers were reported to have jumped into rivers, old grandmothers leaped to their death.<sup>1</sup> Many old people were reported to have said: "Communism is good in many ways but the way it treats the old people is not good at all."<sup>2</sup>

The situation became so serious that the Communists found it necessary to inaugurate a campaign to emphasize the respect and support of parents. From October 1956 to the early part of 1957, the Chinese Communist press and periodicals abounded in articles exhorting young people to love and support their parents. The articles censured the younger generation for maltreatment and cruelty toward their parents. It is evident, however, that nonsupport of parents is a social problem which the Communists have brought upon themselves. Neglect of parents is the result of changes originally encouraged by the Communists. The following are some of the significant changes.

1. *Attack on filial piety.* The Communists have condemned filial piety as "feudalistic" and as "excess baggage" to be discarded. The views of the leftist writer Lu Hsun are widely quoted and have had a great influence in Communist China. Lu ridiculed the long-revered Chinese classic known as "Twenty-four Examples of Filial Piety." He attacked "filial piety" as inhumane behavior. As a result of this influence, the "progressive" came to look upon filial piety as feudalistic. Consequently, some of the young people today do not respond readily to the recent campaign to reinstate parental respect. They ask why they should be criticized for neglecting filial piety when they are only fighting against the outmoded practices of feudal society.<sup>3</sup>

2. *The class struggle and the conflict between generations.* The "class struggle" is one of the central concepts of the Communist revolution. In the city, the Communists incited the workers to struggle against their employers, while in the countryside, they organized the peasants to engage in a "bitter struggle" against the rich peasants and landlord class.

<sup>1</sup> Yu Yuan-fang, "Tsung'hsiao' t'an tao tsen-yang tui-tai fu-mu" (Filial piety and how to treat parents), *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing-Nien* (Chinese Youth, Peking semimonthly), 1956:21, November 1, 1956, pp. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> "Chan-yang fu-mu shih tz'u-nu ti tse-jen" (Supporting parents is the responsibility of sons and daughters), editorial, *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing-Nien Pao* (Chinese Youth Journal, a Peking daily), November 30, 1956.

<sup>3</sup> Chueh Tsai, "Ai fu-mu" (Love parents), *Jen Min Jih Pao* (People's Daily, official organ of the Chinese Communist Party), December 24, 1956.

In the home, "struggle" was waged by the children against their parents and by wives against husbands. Conflict between the older and the younger generation was freely utilized as an instrument of the Communist family revolution. In the Communist scheme of things, the older generation is often cast in the role of oppressor and the younger generation in the position of the oppressed. The frustrated daughter-in-law, the widowed daughter-in-law not permitted to marry again, and the maltreated reared-daughter-in-law<sup>4</sup> were publicized as examples of feudal oppression and were encouraged to rise in opposition to their oppressors, to "spit out bitterness" and to pour out their "grievances." The Communists offered to give them "support" and an opportunity for "fan-sheng" (literally, a "turning-over," which means, actually, a new life). In short, the Communist ideology of "class struggle," when applied to the family, resulted in conflict instead of harmony between generations.

3. *Mutual spying at home and denunciation of parents for the sake of "righteousness."* The Communist secret police and espionage system, powerful as they are, could not penetrate the home and the "sleeping chamber." To extend and reinforce their control, the Communists utilized the children to spy on their parents and wives on their husbands. Mutual surveillance within the family circle was exalted as glorious service for the cause of the revolution. This method was extensively used in the campaign for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the "three-anti" and "five-anti" campaigns of 1952. During these campaigns children were asked not only to watch the thought and behavior of their parents but to report their findings to the Party organization and the Communist authorities.<sup>5</sup> In the schools as well as the youth organizations the children were taught to spy on their parents and to report any reprehensible behavior observed. Needless to say, the denunciation of parents or other family members for the good of the state is a form of behavior diametrically opposed to the old Chinese mores which sanctioned the co-operation of family members in concealing each other's faults instead of washing "dirty laundry" in public. Nevertheless, by utilizing children in espionage against their parents, the Communists succeeded in uncovering many "crimes against the state," and the guilty parties were punished for the good of the revolutionary cause. At the same time,

<sup>4</sup> The term "reared-daughter-in-law" refers to a baby girl adopted into a family to be brought up and later married to a son to become a daughter-in-law.

<sup>5</sup> Wen-hui Chen, *The Family Revolution in Communist China* (Alabama: Human Resources Research Institute, 1955), p. 31. See also Wen-hui Chen, *Wartime "Mass" Campaigns in Communist China* (Alabama: Human Resources Research Institute, 1955), Chaps. II, VII, VIII.

mutual surveillance within the family and the denunciation of family members for the "revolutionary" cause resulted in mutual suspicion and distrust within the family and encouraged young people to be cruel and harsh toward the parents. Moreover, the Communist way tended to encourage rebellion instead of obedience on the part of the children.

4. *Ideological struggle.* In the Communist "ideological struggle," an appeal was made to "progressive youth" to help change the feudal and reactionary ideology of their elders. The younger generation became the teachers, while the older generation must humble themselves to learn from youth. This enabled the younger people to gain the upper hand over the older generation and to discard the old ideology of revering and following the examples of the old. Many children came to look down upon their parents.

5. *Nonsupport of "enemy parents."* In Canton there was a Communist youth whose father was a landlord and was executed as a "village despot." Having been reared in the Communist ideology, this young man made no protest because his father had been exposed as an "enemy of the people." He bravely assumed the support of his mother and younger sister. In doing this, however, he met with the official disapproval of his youth organization. He was censured for his uncertain "class stand" as shown in his continued relationship with the "landlord class."

The children of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, and the counter-revolutionary class were asked to sever all relationships with their families in order to prove their unmistakable stand on the side of the "people." Since the differentiation between "friends" and "enemy" (though all important to the class-conscious Communists) is not such a simple matter when applied to family relationships, the punishment of those who support members of the landlord and counterrevolutionary classes tends to induce people to resort to the safe way of refusing to give any support at all to relatives and the older generation.

6. *The abolition of private property.* Under the old system of private ownership of property, many old people were in charge of their life savings and all family property handed down by previous generations. Since they held the purse strings of the family, they naturally enjoyed the status and authority that went with financial control. In recent years, however, the Chinese Communists have steadily pushed the program of socialism and moved toward the abolition of private property. In the city, the capitalists have become employees of state-controlled enterprises, and, even before the "socialist transformation" of their enterprises, business people had lost most of their assets through confiscatory

fines, taxes, and levies. In the countryside, not only have the landlords been divested of their holdings, but even the ordinary peasants have surrendered their newly acquired land to the cooperatives and collectives. As a result of this change, the older generation have lost the power and authority which went with the control of family property and assets. The propertyless old people have been put at the mercy of the younger generation, who feel free to treat the aged in any manner they like.

7. *Pay according to work.* When the means of production and distribution are owned and operated by the state, all able-bodied persons work for state-owned enterprises and get paid according to their work. Eventually, in a Communist society, those who do not work will not be fed. Although Communist China has not arrived at this stage of development, the Chinese Communists are definitely moving in the direction of abolishing remuneration for property ownership and paying individuals according to their work. To be sure, the state theoretically takes care of the old people who are not able to work. At the same time, the new ideology creates an atmosphere in which those who cannot work are looked upon as the parasites of society. Accordingly, there is a tendency for able-bodied children to consider their aged parents as impediments to progress who live on the sweat and blood of their children.

8. *Public care of the aged.* In theory, the Communists advocate public care of the aged and disabled. The socialist state is supposed to establish homes for the aged so that those who are left without means of support can depend on the state for security. At present some of the big agricultural cooperatives have adopted the slogan of "five guarantees," which provide their members with the five necessities of life: namely, food, clothing, fuel, education, and funeral expenses. Some cooperatives have added medical care and shelter to the list.<sup>6</sup> In theory, individuals are guaranteed a minimum standard of living, and the responsibility of caring for the aged and disabled is transferred from the family to the cooperatives. When the system of "five guarantees" was proclaimed in some of the agricultural cooperatives, young people quickly repudiated their responsibility for the care of their parents and asked their parents to turn to the cooperatives for support.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, many cooperatives which aroused the hopes of their members with high-sounding theory did not have the material resources to care for the aged and the disabled. Thus, the old people were left without any means of support.

<sup>6</sup> *Jen Min Jih Pao*, November 15, 1956.

<sup>7</sup> Editorial, *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing-Nien Pao*, November 30, 1956.

After a few years of Communist control and indoctrination, the relationships in the Chinese family underwent a great change. Evidently, the young people went much farther than the Communists wanted them to. The repudiation of responsibility not only caused much suffering on the part of the old people but also brought along a marked degree of social disorganization. To bring order out of chaos, a campaign was launched to reinculcate parental respect and to emphasize the duty of parental care. Cruelty to parents is now condemned as incompatible with "Communist morality."

What are the reasons for the change of policy on the part of the Chinese Communists? A few are here briefly examined. In the first place, a revolution always begins with a destructive phase and must in time move on to the constructive stage. The generation conflict was utilized by the Communists for a political purpose. After seven years, the Communist revolution had come to the stage where the need of consolidation and stabilization was greater than the need of destroying the old. From a period of social disorganization, the Communists wanted to move on to a new stage of social reorganization.

The Communists now want to recapture the support of the older generation. While utilizing the young generation, the Communists lost the support of the older generation, who not only suffered personal damage as a result of the new changes but grieved to see the old traditions and morals discarded and ridiculed. In the past, the Communists depended on adolescent youth as a major source of support. Now, concerned with the stabilization of their regime, they want the support of the whole population.

The Communists have been alarmed by the "lack of discipline" of youth. Reliance on youth for revolutionary activities has given the young people a feeling of self-importance and resulted in unrestrained behavior and the misinterpretation of freedom as unbridled license. Juvenile delinquency has increased.<sup>8</sup> Sexual laxity has become more common, with boys and girls engaging in multiple sexual relationships.<sup>9</sup> There is also a tendency for boys and girls to marry quickly and divorce easily. In schools, the teachers find that the students do not submit to discipline. They do not study hard, and they ignore the school regulations.

It is obvious that unrestrained "freedom" could not be permitted in a Communist state. The Communists set store by collective living and

<sup>8</sup> *Jen Min Jih Pao*, November 27, 1956; *Hsin Kuan Ch'a* (New Observation, a Peking semimonthly), 1956:24, December 16, 1956, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Jen Min Jih Pao*, November 15, 1956; *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing Nien Pao*, August 30, 1956.

expect all individuals to submit to the group and the authority of the "organization."<sup>10</sup> Alarmed by the spread of rebelliousness on the part of youth, the Communists started a new campaign to emphasize discipline and obedience to authority. In the schools, the authority of the teacher was reasserted. In the home, parental responsibility for the education of youth was now given a new sanction. This means more authority on the part of the parents and more parental respect on the part of the young. The campaign for a partial return to the old pattern of relations with parents is in line with the general trend to curb youthful licentiousness and to enforce a stricter control over youth.

Finally, one of the most important reasons for launching the new campaign is the inability of the Chinese Communist state to support its aged population at this time. Ideologically the Communist state is supposed to establish homes for the aged, but this is easier said than done. Rarely, some large cooperatives have operated homes for the aged; but, by and large, the state still does not have the resources to care for the aged population. Consequently it is still necessary to have the family take care of the aged. This viewpoint is well expressed by a writer for *Chinese Youth*, who said: "When children fail to support their parents, they are in practice shifting this responsibility to society or the nation. In doing this, they are undoubtedly doing harm to socialist construction and will at the same time create serious social problems."<sup>11</sup>

Another writer presented statistical figures to support his arguments. He said: "According to the 1953 census, there were 64,000,000 men over sixty and women over fifty. If the government has to support all these people with even a small sum, say \$50 per year for each person, the total cost to the government will come to \$3,200,000,000. This sum is greater than the total 1955 expenditure for welfare and education and is more than 10 per cent of the total expenditures of the nation according to the budget of 1956. If the system of the state care of the aged is adopted, it will plunge the nation into deep financial troubles and cause serious interference with the development of socialistic reconstruction."<sup>12</sup>

The campaign to repair the damage created by the earlier Communist attack on the loyalties and obligations of old "feudal" society gathered

<sup>10</sup> The term "organization" in Communist China means the Party organization which exercises all-powerful control over individuals.

<sup>11</sup> "Chien-li kao-shang ti kung-ch'an chu-yi lung-li kuan-hsi" (Build up high Communist ethical relationships), *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing Nien*, 1956:24, December 16, 1956, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Chi-Ya, "Kuan-yu 'Chan-yang fu-mu' chi ko wen-t'i ti ta pien" (A few arguments and answers concerning the support of parents), *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing Nien*, 1957:2, January 16, 1957, p. 26.

momentum in the latter part of 1956. Newspaper and magazine articles preached the virtue of parental care and respect. Members of youth organizations were asked to set good examples for the nation. Many arguments were put forth to show the necessity of taking good care of parents. Parental love is now extolled as beautiful and deserving of continued gratitude on the part of the children. Youth are told to love their parents because they will be the parents of tomorrow. It is also argued that old people are often helpful at home. Young people are exhorted not only to feed and clothe the old people but to love and respect them in order to make them happy.

Nevertheless, the new Communist morality does not permit any family loyalty to overshadow loyalty to the state or the revolutionary cause. One should love one's parents, but one should love the "people" or the state even more. After the campaign for parental love was launched, some cadres thought that it would now be appropriate to ask to be assigned to tasks in the home town so as to be able to take better care of parents or to get a leave to visit their parents. Their requests were rejected by the Party authorities. A Party leader explains the official position as follows:

When *Chinese Youth* criticized young people for slighting and non-support of parents, it was asking young people to accord respect and support to parents on the condition that there is no interference with the interests of the state. . . . A revolutionary cadre must put the interests of the state above all; he must yield to the needs of his revolutionary work and accept the assignments of the Party organization. When we advocate love of family and care of parents, we do not mean to go back to the feudalistic way of putting family interests above national interests.<sup>13</sup>

In short, Chinese youth are asked to love and support their parents if such behavior works to the advantage of the state. But if there is a conflict between love for parents and love for the state or between family devotion and the Communist revolution, the state and the Party have definite priority over the parents.

<sup>13</sup> "Tai-feng fu-mu pu neng wei-fan kuo-chia li-i" (Care for parents should not conflict with the interests of the state), *Chung-Kuo Ch'ing Nien*, 1957:4, February 16, 1957, p. 8. [Italics not in the original.]

## THE ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE IN DESEGREGATION

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The purpose of this paper is to describe some patterns of administrative policy and the role of the administrator in public school desegregation in a border state. The report is based upon a study of seven school systems in central Missouri, conducted during the year 1955-56. The communities where these schools were located ranged in population from 3,000 to 30,000. In no school did the Negro student enrollment exceed 10 per cent of the total student body.

There was little uniformity in approaching the problem of desegregation. The direction of the administrative action was largely determined by the extent and nature of the opposition and by the preliminary steps taken by the school board and the superintendent. The following patterns were observed in the process leading up to the decision to desegregate:

1. The decision to desegregate was made by the school board and the superintendent and announced in the local press. This occurred in a community where the climate of opinion was relatively favorable and where there had been little opposition overtly expressed. The superintendent enjoyed the confidence of the community and was accustomed to making policy decisions on other matters without consulting parents or other groups. This superintendent expressed his conviction that this was the only effective approach to desegregation. He stated:

This thing is coming and whether anyone likes it or not, the thing to do is to go right ahead with integration. I don't ask people if it is all right. That would give them something to object to. If I am hesitant and uncertain, the people will hesitate and it is just giving them a chance to say "No." Don't give them a chance, is what I say. Just go ahead and take positive steps.

2. The decision to desegregate was made after inviting parents and other adult members of the community to participate in meetings and preliminary discussions or to serve on investigating committees. In one such case there were numerous meetings of both Negroes and whites, with eventual agreement on a desegregation program only after the use of the Negro school building by white students was hotly debated and a decision made to abandon the building. In another case the superintendent encountered indifference on the part of parents when he scheduled meetings of P.T.A. groups for the purpose of exploring the problems of desegregation.

3. A third pattern was observed in one school system where community opposition to the change was extensive and was expressed in threats of violence and a cross-burning incident. In this case there was disagreement among school board members, vacillation by the school superintendent, and a reluctance in the community to take any action at all. There was an announced decision to desegregate. The order was rescinded and finally, as a matter of economic expedience and for the lack of an alternative, the decision to desegregate was once more announced. Meetings of irate parents continued, however, and the policy makers indicated that they would entertain any feasible plan to avoid desegregation. The status of the Negro students remained in doubt until the opening day of the new term, when it was apparent that they would attend the previously all-white school or not attend school at all.

Although the course of desegregation in any community depends much upon public sentiment and the degree of opposition by the prosegregation forces, some communities are in a state of "indifferent equilibrium"<sup>1</sup> with regard to race relations. That is, there are no extremes of opinion and the issue could be decided one way just as easily as another. When this is the case, a firm, unhesitating stand by the school board and the superintendent seems the most effective approach and sets the stage for a less troublesome administration of the program, once it is put into effect.

In the school systems studied, the tendency was toward segmental, gradual desegregation, rather than an immediate and complete change-over from the segregated to the mixed pattern. The form which desegregation took in each school system was dependent upon such factors as available space and number of Negro students at each grade level, availability of still-segregated schools which would accept nonresident students, the cost of operating a transportation system for such Negro students, and the attitudes of parents of children at the various grade levels.

In some instances immediate desegregation on a particular grade level would seriously overcrowd existing facilities and hamper the teaching program. The result is the postponement of desegregation until adequate facilities can be built, but this can, and often does, serve as a device to make the postponement indefinite; some communities will tolerate overcrowded conditions which already exist and inadequate equipment for their white children rather than construct a building which will serve a mixed student body. In five of the school systems studied, this appeared

<sup>1</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 392; and MacIver, *The More Perfect Union* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), p. 58.

as a factor in avoiding the desegregation of the elementary schools.

If another school system will accept nonresident Negro students either on a segregated or desegregated basis, this offers an alternative to desegregation in any community wishing to evade the issue. This possibility led school officials in systems which were already desegregated to adopt a policy whereby only their resident Negroes were eligible for enrollment. They did not want to be swamped with other communities' Negroes, and indicated that it was only just that all should "suffer" equally. In one case where the Negro students were accepted in another system's segregated school, the transportation cost was considered prohibitive and the idea abandoned.

The greatest opposition in all communities came from the parent-group, and particularly from parents of elementary school children. There was no opportunity to interview parents, but school administrators, teachers, and students who were questioned explained it in terms of fear of intermarriage. In their opinion, parents believe that the small children will become accustomed to participating on an equal basis with Negro children throughout their most formative years and that by the time they reach high school they will fully accept Negroes. The ultimate outcome of this, they argue, is dating and marriage across race lines. On the other hand, they know that the high-school-age child has been conditioned in the segregated community to the point where he is fully conscious of the prohibitions regarding "social" interaction and will be capable of handling a desegregated school situation without going "too far." In other words, although there is less student-resistance and more *real* integration among the younger children, the prevailing pattern is to desegregate on the secondary level, where there is assurance that there will *not* be complete integration. If a community is extremely reluctant to desegregate, a minimum program may be put into effect which includes only the grade levels where there are few Negroes involved. In one such case of "symbolic" desegregation, eight Negro students on the junior and senior levels of high school were physically present in the mixed school, but there was serious doubt that they participated in any organized school activities, including classroom work.

The following designs were observed in the administration of desegregation programs in the school systems studied: (a) Three years of high school, desegregated; junior high school in same building, segregated; elementary school, segregated. Plans to desegregate the junior high school "in a year or two," and to desegregate the elementary school, "if funds can be raised for a new building." Negro high school students

have a choice of attending the desegregated school or an all-Negro school in another town. (b) High school and junior high school in same building, desegregated; kindergarten desegregated, but other grades in same elementary school building, segregated. No plan to desegregate these elementary grades. (c) Desegregation on all levels, but retention of Negro school and faculty. Students have a choice of attending desegregated or segregated school. (Largest Negro enrollment is in desegregated junior high school. Only six high school students, all girls, enrolled in the high school. Some schools had no Negro students, as a result of residential segregation in the city.) (d) Desegregation on all levels with elimination of Negro school and dismissal of Negro faculty. (e) Desegregation of junior and senior levels in high school. No plan to extend the program.

Another aspect of administrative policy concerns the status of Negro students within each school. In general, the superintendent indicated the broad outlines of policy for the school system, and the principal of each school evaluated each situation as it arose in terms of parental pressures, community mores, and his own attitudes toward intermingling of the races. Policies were fluid as administrators, teachers, and students were constantly defining and redefining situations. There were no clues as to the appropriateness of new desegregated relationships nor was there any necessary carry-over of a definition from one type of interaction to another. In general, the more formal, organized activities were considered appropriate for mixed groups, but informal, intimate associations were avoided. This was particularly true of situations which are symbolic of status, such as eating and dancing. Official policies in all the school systems provided for rather full participation of Negro students in all activities. The actual patterns which emerged were due to a great extent to the attitudes of individual administrators. A principal could either *permit* a situation or he could actively encourage intermingling of Negroes and whites.

In all the schools students were registered by name, with no mention of race. Students were seated in classrooms in alphabetical order or permitted to choose their own seats. There were restrictive policies with regard to lunchrooms, toilets, drinking fountains, gymnasium or shower facilities. Negro students and parents attended assemblies, athletic events, and plays as members of nonsegregated audiences. Negro students attended dances in all but one school, but in no instance was there mixed dancing. Intimate contact across race lines was avoided by tacit agreement of students in both groups, although it was stated policy in one

school that Negro students present form their own group for square or circle dances. If too few in number, they were to remain off the floor during the dance. In the one school where Negroes did not attend dances there was no official prohibition, but a background of near-violence and racial tension in the community served to discourage their participation. In the same school Negro students were permitted to use lunchroom facilities, but elected to eat as a segregated group in a vacant classroom. In none of the schools did Negro students participate in drama activities. Administrators and teachers interviewed admitted that they were not excluded by official policy, but could not conceive of a Negro student in any but a stereotypical Negro role.

The administrator's own attitudes toward desegregation may be favorable, unfavorable, or indifferent, but desegregation is a controversial issue, and most administrators see a desegregation program in their school systems as the onset of "trouble." Lacking tenure in most instances, and beset by the pressures and demands of many groups, it is not surprising that the administrator is cautious, conservative, even fearful. If community feelings have been relatively mild, or if he is supported in a desegregation program by a prestigious element in the community, he may actively encourage the integration of Negro students. But if there is a vocal prosegregation group and community antagonism toward the change, the administrator may make a positive statement of policy and then discourage Negro students from participation in school activities.

The reluctance of school administrators to sanction research on the desegregation process within their schools is a major problem. If permission to make the study is finally granted, there are often specific restrictions, and cooperation may be withdrawn at any time. In one school the investigator may not contact parents, in another he may interview white students but not Negro, and in still another he is limited to interviews with the superintendent and principals. The administrator defines his job as that of "keeping the peace" and avoiding trouble. The following statements of administrators illustrate their attitude toward controversy.

Things are going smoothly. I'm afraid of any publicity that may be attached to it (the desegregation study). Maybe nothing would happen if you talked about it in town or interviewed students, but why take the chance?

Things are going along well now. We had some trouble at first, so why take a chance on stirring things up again?

Parents are beginning to believe that their children are used as guinea pigs by the University in all these research studies, and they resent it.

A school superintendent has so many problems, not only this type but all kinds, that he just doesn't want to take the chance of creating another problem.

It is better to let sleeping dogs lie. I'm not sure this is the time to make such a study. Maybe in a few years. It is working so well now that I just don't want to mention the issue. I would rather that you did not question students, especially Negro students. It puts them on the spot. We want as little publicity as possible. There has been plenty of opposition. I'm not sure about your getting a questionnaire out to parents. If these questions were to get into the hands of the wrong people, that is, those who are against integration, it would give them something to get hold of again, and there's no telling what they might do with it. I'd hate to see you fan those fires again.

You see, as an administrator, I have to keep the peace. Peace has to be maintained in a school. You can't have tension of any kind. You can do all kinds of good things for these people (parents) and they just figure it is your job. But just let something happen . . . there can't be anything controversial and that's that. That's my job.

In his study of hospitals in a Midwestern metropolitan area, Peter New observed that each piece of institutional research seems to introduce new types of tactical problems. As in the desegregation study, the cooperation of hospital administrators was sometimes withdrawn after the initial interviews.<sup>2</sup>

Time is an important factor in the integration process, and tensions tend to decrease after the initial year of desegregation. Thus, the outlook for greater administrative cooperation in future desegregation research is more promising. Meanwhile, social scientists may have to be content with limited objectives in their study of the early stages of desegregation.

The administrator is the crucial figure in any desegregation program. If he possesses qualities of leadership, takes firm and direct action in the early stages, and has the support of the community, he can be a positive force in the movement toward integration. If, on the other hand, he is overly cautious and fearful, he may be instrumental in creating conditions which are conducive to tension and conflict. In the absence of strong community feelings or when feelings are ill-defined, the administrator has a unique opportunity to determine and implement a policy within the school which may be instrumental in breaking down barriers to intercommunication of Negroes and whites in the community.

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<sup>2</sup> Peter Kong-Ming New, "Tactical Problems in Institutional Research," a paper presented at the Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting, Des Moines, Iowa, April 4-6, 1957.

# JOB SATISFACTION AND LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY IN A RESTRICTIVE ENVIRONMENT<sup>1</sup>

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Interest in leisure-time pursuits as a distinct category of social life has received increasing attention in recent years.<sup>2</sup> Aside from attempts to discern differential activity patterns according to social class, however, research efforts designed to explore the implications of leisure for other areas of human activity have been few in number.<sup>3</sup>

The notion that hobbies and other recreational activities contribute to the well-being of every individual is generally accepted. Implications are that such activity contributes to the effectiveness of a worker, and consequently it is not unusual today to find large businesses that support recreational programs for their employees. It would seem, therefore, that organizations which are located in isolated or inclement environments would do well to look to the recreational needs of their employees.

This paper reports an attempt to explore the relationship of job satisfaction to the leisure-time activity of a group of professionals working in a restrictive environment. The professionals were a group of male primary school teachers who had come from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria to work temporarily in Kuwait. This small desert sheikdom which lies on the Persian gulf just south of Iraq has experienced a rapid rise in wealth since the discovery of its great oil resources

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<sup>1</sup> This study was conducted under the direction of the senior author while he was assistant professor of sociology at the American University of Beirut. For a more extended discussion of recreation in Kuwait, see the junior author's unpublished master's dissertation, "Relationship of Recreation to Job Satisfaction: A Study of Teachers in Kuwait," American University of Beirut, 1956.

<sup>2</sup> Stimulation for a number of these studies appears to stem from the activities of the Center for the Study of Leisure at the University of Chicago, *American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (May 1957); entire issue is devoted to this substantive area.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples of the latter are the following: Bartlett S. Atwood and E. H. Shideler, "Social Participation and Juvenile Delinquency," *Sociology and Social Research*, 18: 436-41; Jean Ogden Cavanaugh, "Relation of Recreation to Personality Adjustment," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 15: 63-74; Joshua A. Fishman, "Degree of Bilingualism in a Yiddish School and Leisure Time Activities," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 36: 155-65.

ten years ago. Lacking trained personnel, Kuwait has attracted foreign specialists by paying a salary two to three times that obtainable in the professionals' home countries. Though the city of Kuwait has a population estimated at more than 300,000 and is a modern large-scale version of a Western boom town, still its public recreational facilities are severely limited compared with other Arab capitals.<sup>4</sup>

*Design of Research.* Delineation of the concepts of leisure-time activity and job satisfaction was the initial step in designing the research operation. Recreational activity performed during leisure time was taken as equivalent to leisure-time activity. Recreation was defined as "any activity pursued during leisure, either individual or collective, that is free and pleasurable, having its own immediate appeal, not impelled by a delayed reward beyond itself or by any immediate necessity."<sup>5</sup> Leisure time was taken to be "the time we are free from the more obvious and formal duties which a paid job or other obligatory occupation imposes on us."<sup>6</sup> No established referent for the other central concept—job satisfaction—was discovered. For purposes of the study it was broadly defined as that feeling of elation or "worth-whileness" which an individual secured in the process of his participation in and identification with a particular occupational position. (It will be noted that this definition brings the concept very close to that of "morale.")

From a series of hypotheses three basic ones were selected for testing. Hypothesis 1: There exists a positive relationship between the extent of leisure-time activity and the degree of job satisfaction. The feeling was that the man who was busy in recreational activities would find his work in the restrictive environment more tolerable than the man who was relatively inactive. Hypothesis 2: The degree of job satisfaction is negatively related to the number of desired, but unavailable activities. This is an extension of the previous hypothesis and is related to the concept of relative deprivation. It emphasizes that the greater the desire for unavailable types of activities, the greater the dissatisfaction with the job. Hypothesis 3: The degree of job satisfaction is related differentially to the type of leisure-time activity engaged in. Here the question of the context in which activity takes place was of foremost importance. Also the notion that different leisure pursuits might be sought by the satisfied

<sup>4</sup> For all practical purposes the city of Kuwait is Kuwait. The only other significant community is that of Ahmadi, where the British maintain a colony in connection with their exploitation of the oil resources of the area.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed., *Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), pp. 251-52.

<sup>6</sup> G. A. Lundberg, M. Komarovsky, and M. A. McInerny, *Leisure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 2.

than by the unsatisfied was of interest.

A proportional stratified random sample of 50 per cent of the foreign male primary school teachers working in the city of Kuwait was chosen for the study. The size of the sample (209 subjects) was determined in accordance with the minimal requirements for a simple multivariate analysis involving two or possibly three variables. With the aid of a table of random numbers the interviewees were selected from two alphabetical lists of "newcomers" and "old-timers." The sample was found to be reasonably adequate, having a coefficient of variation of less than 10 per cent.

Data collection involved the use of an interview schedule. It was initially prepared in English and then translated into simplified classical Arabic. Respondents were required to indicate the extent and nature of their leisure-time pursuits on a check list containing forty-two activities (with provision for adding others). Further, a series of questions designed to elicit their degree of job satisfaction were administered, and also inquiry was made to secure background information. The schedule was pretested in December 1955, revised, and administered to the selected teachers by the junior author of this paper in the spring of 1956. Responses were coded and entered on summary sheets for purposes of analysis.

*Findings.* To secure some measure of job satisfaction was the salient initial task of analysis. From the responses to five of the questions it was possible by using the Cornell technique to construct a Guttman scale having a .944 coefficient of reproducibility.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of the five items six scale types emerged. Those in type one were considered to have "high" satisfaction, those in types two and three, "medium" satisfaction, and those in types four, five, and six, "low" satisfaction. The assignment here was on an arbitrary basis, taking into consideration primarily the requirements for construction of contingency tables. Thus the groups were divided into units as close to equal as practicable (high, medium, and low: 23, 43, and 34 per cent respectively).

Seventy-eight different recreational pursuits were reported for the group of teachers. The rank of the leisure-time activities engaged in by

<sup>7</sup> The questions involved together with the proportion of their replies judged favorable are as follows: Would you encourage other teachers like yourself to come to Kuwait? (87 per cent); In general, how satisfied would you say you are with teaching here in Kuwait? (81 per cent); How much concerned is the administration with the well-being of teachers here in Kuwait? (68 per cent); Would you like to teach in Kuwait permanently if you were given the chance? (52 per cent); How do you compare teaching as a profession with other jobs? (33 per cent).

one quarter or more of the male teachers in Kuwait is given in the following statement in parentheses and the name of the activity is followed by its frequency of adherents—209 possible—as follows: (1) reading, 200; (2) visiting with friends, 188; (3) listening to radio programs and music, 187; (4) attending lectures, 185; (5) attending films, 161; (6) picnics, 156; (7) spectator at sports, 142; (8) walking, 140; (9) writing, 111; (10) backgammon, 110; (11) going to exhibitions, 106; (12) ping-pong, 94; (13) attending parties or night gatherings, 84; (14) sitting at coffeehouses, 83; (15) swimming, 79; (16) attending plays, 78; (17) playing cards, 75; (18) sitting and/or daydreaming, 68; (19) photography, 68; (20) attending a club, 65; (21) playing with children, 57; (22) badminton, 56; (23) car drives, 56; (24) body building, 55.

The range in number of activities in which an individual teacher participated was from 1 to 32 with the mean being 15 and the median and mode 14 and 13 respectively. Inquiry as to the amount of activity rather than simple variety revealed a range of from 1 to 26 pursuits engaged in *once a week or oftener*. Here the mean was 9, while the median and mode were both 8.

Concerning the desired but unavailable activities, we found the range to be from 1 to 11 with the mean, median, and mode being 6, 3, and 3 respectively. The most frequently desired but unavailable activity—movies—was the choice of slightly over one fourth of the teachers. The rank of the unavailable leisure-time activities desired by one tenth or more of the male teachers in Kuwait with their frequency of adherents—209 possible—is as follows: (1) attending movies, 58; (2) visiting public gardens, 54; (3) dating young ladies, 44; (4) picnicking, 43; (5) attending a club, 37; (6) wenching, 37; (7) sitting at modern cafes, 34; (8) attending cabarets, 29; (9) attending plays, 29; (10) having mixed parties, 26; (11) swimming, 24; (12) having cocktail parties, 20.

For simplicity in analysis the frequency of leisure-time activities was divided into three parts (multivariate analysis). Assuming an essentially normal distribution, the attempt was made to have the middle group contain two thirds of the respondents (approximating one standard deviation each direction from the mean) and the two extremes one sixth each. These units of participation in combination with the units of job satisfaction formed ninefold property space tables.

Beginning with the relationship of job satisfaction to variety of activity, cross tabulation indicated that there was a significant fluctuation

in the response. The cutting marks for the categories of variety of activity were as follows: limited, 9 or fewer; moderate, 10 to 19; and extensive, 20 or more. The distribution of the cases of low satisfaction (79 cases) among these categories of activity was 15, 62, and 23 per cent respectively. For the medium satisfaction group (90) it was 9, 72, and 19 per cent, and for the teachers with high satisfaction (48) the distribution was 33, 56, and 11 per cent. The table's chi-square of 15.02 was significant at the 1 per cent level. The modal frequencies viewed from the standpoint of participation gave a hint of a trend with the low satisfaction group having the slightly largest proportion of highly active persons, the medium satisfaction group the largest proportion of moderately active, and the highly satisfied the largest proportion of teachers most limited in activity.

By tying the respondents down to those activities in which they engaged once a week or more, it appeared that an index of the extent of leisure-time activity could be secured. Thus, in this alternative cross tabulation greater stress was put on the amount rather than simply on the variety. Here again a significant relationship was indicated. But this time a very definite trend between leisure activity and job satisfaction was discernible. It was, however, a negative correlation—the greater the participation, the less the satisfaction.

With the introduction of a time element, the cutting points for the activity categories became 5 or fewer for the limited, 6 to 13 for the moderates, and 14 or more for the extensive unit. The distribution of the cases of low satisfaction (71 cases) among these new categories of activity was 8, 72, and 20 per cent respectively. For the medium satisfaction group of teachers (90) it was 15, 68, and 17 per cent, and for those with high satisfaction (48) the distribution was 34, 58, and 8 per cent. A chi-square of 13.77 obtained, which again was significant at the 1 per cent level.

When inspection was made of the relationship between desire for unavailable activities and extent of job satisfaction, it appeared that the result was consistent with the previous findings. But in this case the trend was not so clear and the correlation dropped to the 10 per cent level of significance.

For the analysis of the relationship between job satisfaction and desired but unavailable activities, the activity categories were as follows: limited, 1 or none; moderate, 2 to 4; and extensive, 5 or more. Cases of low satisfaction (71) were distributed among the activity categories in the amounts of 15, 58, and 27 per cent respectively. The medium sat-

isfaction group (90) was 28, 45, and 27 per cent, and the teachers with high satisfaction (48) had a distribution of 35, 50, and 15 per cent. The total distribution was characterized by a chi-square of only 8.29.

Other than the variety, amount, and desire for leisure-time activities, the nature of the activities themselves was thought to be important. It was felt that participation in leisure-time pursuits by oneself might have different consequences than taking part in group activities. To explore this idea the respondents were classified into three categories: those participating in a majority of their activities with a group of other persons, those having a majority of activities in which they participated alone, and those who had an equal division of group and individual activities. Inquiry as to the importance of this aspect of participation was not as revealing as hoped for. Only a slight suggestion of a negative trend for the group-oriented participants and a slight positive trend for those with a balanced record resulted.

The distribution of the cases of low satisfaction (79) among the balanced, individual, and group categories was 9, 18, and 73 per cent respectively. For the medium satisfaction group (90) it was 11, 20, and 69 per cent, and for the highly satisfied teachers (48) it was 25, 15, and 60 per cent. The chi-square of 7.67 was significant at the 20 per cent level.

Further consideration suggested that perhaps simply participating in a leisure-time activity with a group was not sufficiently focused. After all, it was possible for an individual to pursue relatively independent activities, while at the same time being in the presence of a group (a "lonely crowd" type). A comparison made of the most frequent leisure pursuits of the respondents having high and low satisfaction ruled out the applicability of the more common typologies of recreation: commercial versus noncommercial and spectator versus nonspectator. However, the analysis did suggest that a classification based on the extent of participation in activities emphasizing communication might be fruitful. This was done, but no significant difference in response resulted with respect to job satisfaction.

*Discussion.* The over-all picture of the findings which bear on the extent of leisure-time activity seems to refute our initial hypothesis. While the relationship between job satisfaction and participation is established, its direction is negative rather than positive—the higher the satisfaction, the fewer the number of activities. The results which indicate support for the second hypothesis seem to suggest that action and desire

are expressions of a common factor. Thus a man who is very active is likely to desire even greater variety of activity. It may be that his awareness of possibilities is greater than that of the relatively inactive person.

The negative relationship between job satisfaction and recreation may be interpreted as indicating that the highly satisfied man devotes his leisure time to job-oriented activities, if any, rather than to engaging in recreational pursuits. In contrast, the teacher who is low in job satisfaction may look upon his occupation as a means of securing the where-withal to enjoy leisure-time activities. Such an interpretation lends itself to the bipolar typology of "job-oriented" versus "leisure-oriented" person.

An alternative approach to this negative correlation, and one that might take us further along the road toward scientific theory, is that dissatisfaction is a stimulus to activity. From this standpoint, the greater a man's dissatisfaction, the greater will be his motivation to participate in other, hopefully, more rewarding activities. On the other hand, the man who is well satisfied may feel little or no compulsion toward leisure-time activity beyond what minimal obligations to friends and colleagues require.

Attempts to test the third hypothesis, which related job satisfaction to type of activity, were not very fruitful. While there was some indication that the teacher who was low in satisfaction was more likely to prefer group activities than his colleague who was highly satisfied, still the difference was not great. To suggest that the dissatisfied person seeks a group where he may "blow off steam" must be countered with the fact that for many group activities irrelevant discussion destroys the play. It may be that just what a man does in his leisure time is not so significant as the fact of his desire to do something or other.

There are at least three factors that seem likely to affect the relationship between job satisfaction and leisure-time activity. First, the amount of free time which a person has available may be important. A man with much leisure time may be more adversely affected in outlook by a dearth of recreational activities than one with little or no time.<sup>8</sup> This may explain the cases of low job satisfaction which have a limited amount of leisure-time activity. Closely related to this is the factor of marital status. Thus a single teacher having fewer demands upon his nonworking time than a married one may be more responsive to conditions in the recreational sphere—may simply be able to engage in more

<sup>8</sup> This notion suggested to the authors by Capt. Norman A. Hilmar, social psychologist at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, is a finding from an unpublished study of recreation among military personnel which he directed.

activities. Finally, the length of time a person resides in a restrictive environment seems likely to affect his response patterns both satisfaction-wise and recreationwise. We hope to examine the consequences of these conditional variables for the basic relationship in a subsequent paper.

*Conclusion.* The growing tendency toward decentralization of industry for reasons of convenience or security is resulting in the establishment of working communities in isolated areas often characterized by inclement or even hostile physical environments. Certainly Siberia, the wilds of Idaho, and the Great Arabian Desert leave much to be desired for modern social living. Whether or not plans for these new communities should include provisions for recreation is not answered by this research. What has been indicated is that in such a restrictive environment men do engage in leisure-time activities and that those who are dissatisfied with their jobs tend to be more active in these pursuits than those who are relatively satisfied.

The study has been made in a non-Western cultural area, and the reliability of the empirical relationship which emerged would benefit substantially from replication in other cultural areas. Also a longitudinal study over time might give considerable insight into the manner in which an increasingly dissatisfied person responds recreationwise.

It appears that this substantive finding is focused on a potentially significant relationship. Consequently, an attempt to place it in a theoretical scheme before further investigation would seem prudent. Such an operation should enable us to anticipate other ramifications of the relationship and to direct research efforts toward the testing of theoretically relevant variables.

# THE RELEVANCY OF SOCIAL WORK FOR SOCIOLOGY

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## COMMON ORIGIN

Miss Helen Culver, a schoolteacher who turned realtor and became a millionaire in later life, gave Jane Addams most of the Hull House Settlement physical plant and furnished William I. Thomas with \$50,000 to produce the monumental study of the *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*.<sup>1</sup> Both wanted to do something about the problems of adjustment of immigrants. Jane Addams and her collaborators were concerned with social action. She transmitted her experiences to social workers in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. William I. Thomas had his sights on social study. He taught in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Thus, two of the pioneer professional accomplishments in social work and in sociology were melioristic siblings, nurtured from a common purse.<sup>2</sup>

There was a time in 1865 when social work, penology, and other helping professions were unified in the American Social Science Association.<sup>3</sup> It was the common organizational ancestor of such practice groups as the National Conference of Social Work, the American Prison Association, and the National Child Welfare Committee. It also was the predecessor of the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and the American Economic Society.

## THE EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY

The American Social Science Association died in 1909, a victim of the need of its component special interests to develop by organizing autonomous disciplines. Most of the graduate schools of social work

<sup>1</sup> William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1918-20), Vol. I-V (reprinted by New York: Alfred Knopf Publishing Co., 1927).

<sup>2</sup> These related movements of action and of study grew up to exhibit symptoms typical of "sibling rivalry." The Chicago-trained sociologists and social workers, many of whom became leaders in their respective fields, learned to work in separate compartments almost hermetically sealed against academic collaboration. Their common values, objectives, and nurture were rarely acknowledged. But both worked energetically on inseparable problems of observation and interpretation of social data.

<sup>3</sup> L. L. and Jessie Bernard, *Origins of American Sociology* (New York: Thomas Crowell Co., 1943), pp. 527-607.

were nurtured by the university's Department of Sociology before acquiring academic autonomy. Undergraduate curricula of social work are still frequently combined with sociology. But social work educators have become increasingly insistent on jurisdictional separateness.

Social work is concerned with a broad spectrum of services that defy any neat definition of functions. It is more than a profession. It also is a social institution.<sup>4</sup> It emerged in agencies, public and private, that served the needs of the lower classes, the impoverished, the ill and unloved. It is still carried on almost exclusively in agencies, but the functions of those with professional training are heavily concentrated on work with the emotionally troubled.

Social work is, perhaps, the most inclusive of the helping professions. Its professional jurisdiction is shared in part by many other occupations that are also concerned with the application of scientific and "common sense" knowledge to social-psychological problems.<sup>5</sup> For example, its role and functions overlap those of clinical psychology, psychiatry, the ministry, and the law. But each of these other professions, as Helen Wright suggests, limits its services to a more narrowly defined segment of practice, "the psychiatrist to the emotional, the physician to the physical, the clergyman to the spiritual, and the lawyer to the legal involvement."<sup>6</sup> In actual practice, however, these distinctions are far less readily maintained than they are asserted in theory.

All the helping professions draw from a common area of knowledge that might best be described as the *behavior sciences*. The core of this relatively new academic "label" encompasses most of the concerns of such traditional disciplines as psychology, social psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science. As we move toward its periphery, no sharp boundaries can be drawn. There are common frontiers with biology and medicine, with the physical sciences and mathematics, and with the humanities. The concept of *behavioral sciences* is not a faddish substitute of a new term for others that are familiar and with which we feel comfortable. Its emergence is symptomatic of the recognition that the study of man cannot be done well within the limits

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Hillman, *Sociology and Social Work* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956), has made a good description and analysis of the institutional nature of the profession.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph W. Eaton, "Whence and Whither Social Work: A Sociological Analysis," *Social Work*, 1: 11-26; "Regulations of Psychological Counseling and Psychotherapy," *Columbia University Law Review*, Vol. 51, No. 4, April 1951.

<sup>6</sup> Helen R. Wright, "The Professional Curriculum of the Future," *Social Service Review*, 25:466-76.

of any one of the traditionally defined social science fields. A multi-disciplinary approach is needed, and new terminology is the result.

#### RESURGENCE OF COMMUNICATION

In spite of the historical and functional relatedness of the two occupational jurisdictions—sociology and social work—their interaction has been characterized by many communication barriers. It is still somewhat fashionable among "pure" science-oriented sociologists to be stereotypically disdainful of social workers and ignorant about what they do. Conversely, "sociology" and "sociological" are occasionally used as epithets by social workers. The breakdown in intellectual communication between the students of social problems and those who wanted to ameliorate them through social work became most pronounced, as Ruth Faith Carrier has so well documented,<sup>7</sup> after social work practitioners discovered the relevancy of psychoanalytic theory to their practice in the early 1930's.

These manifestations of jurisdictional hostility are on the decline. Social work practitioners and educators are rediscovering the crucial significance of sociology for their work, a trend evident in many contemporary social work writings.<sup>8</sup> Anyone who is functioning as a participant observer in the subcultural milieu of both professional sociology

<sup>7</sup> Ruth Faith Carrier, *The Relationship Between the Social Sciences and Social Work from 1920-1952* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952) (master's thesis).

<sup>8</sup> Herman D. Stein, "Social Science in Social Work Practice and Education," *Social Casework*, 36:147-55.

Alfred J. Kahn, "The Nature of Social Work Knowledge," in Cora Kasius, ed., *New Directions in Social Work* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954); "Sociology and Social Work: Challenge and Invitation," *Social Problems*, 4:220-28.

Ernest Greenwood, "Social Science and Social Work: A Theory of Their Relationship," *Social Service Review*, 29:20-33.

Robert C. Angell, "A Research Basis for Welfare Practice," *The Social Welfare Forum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Application of Research to Practice in Intergroup Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 18:78-83.

Grace L. Coyle, "New Insights Available to the Social Worker from the Social Sciences," *The Social Service Review*, 26:289-304.

Werner W. Boehm, "Social Work and the Social Sciences," *Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, 21:4-8.

Elizabeth G. Herzog, "What Social Casework Wants of Social Science Research," *American Sociological Review*, 16:68-73.

Henry Maas, "Collaboration Between Social Work and the Social Sciences," *Social Work Journal*, 31:104-09.

Herbert H. Stroup, "The Contribution of Anthropology to Social Work Education," *Social Casework*, 31:189-94.

H. David Kirk, "Social Science and Social Work: Issues Genuine and Spurious." Address to the Canadian Conference on Social Work (June 1958).

and social work will find considerable intellectual readiness in social work circles to look to sociology and sociologists for help in meeting unresolved problems of practice and of education for social welfare. Sociological concepts like role, reference group, status, and community are part of the professional vocabulary of practitioners and are applied in the description and analysis of what they do. To illustrate, sociologists, with and sometimes without social work professional training, are on the faculties of many schools of social work. Doctoral programs in social work are closely related in several universities to the graduate offerings of the behavioral science departments. Among a good many social work practitioners and educators, there is a tendency to ascribe to sociology more potentiality for providing answers than can be delivered.

#### SOCIAL WORK'S APPLIED SOCIOLOGY FUNCTIONS

This resurgent flirtation between social work and sociology has been rather one-sided. The significance of social work for academic sociology, while never denied in theory, is far less widely acknowledged. Only occasionally is it analyzed in sociological writings, textbooks, and course offerings.<sup>9</sup> Urban sociology, marriage and community studies, though relevant to much that social workers do, are usually reported upon without much attention to their significance for problems that must be acted upon by practitioners.

The relevancy of social work experiences to sociology is particularly obvious in the social disorganization-reorganization area, in courses often taught by sociologists under the label of *social problems*. The consequences of war, unemployment, migration, and other social crises for peoples, groups, and communities are important social work tasks. The same can be said about more individualized symptoms of social-psychological stress, including behavior disorders, economic indigency, sex deviancy, and divorce. Yet how many sociology majors will learn in their department's courses how social workers function in these fields? Many will be ignorant of the fact that there is a relevant social work literature.

Social work practice also makes contributions to the knowledge of social theory. While these contributions rarely come to be stated ex-

<sup>9</sup> Alvin W. Gouldner, "Explorations in Applied Social Science," *Social Problems*, 3:169-81.

Olive M. Stone, "What Can Social Case Work Contribute to the Social Sciences?" *American Sociological Review*, 15:66-73.

R. M. MacIver, *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

plicitly, they arise from the fact that social practitioners test theory in the pursuit of their work. For example, oversimplified theoretical models, such as economic determinism or psychological determinism, have been popular among practitioners from time to time, but their inadequacy was demonstrated when they were applied. In the 1930's practitioners sensed quickly that money was neither the root of all evil nor the salvation of all ills. They found it necessary to become interested in power factors, so crucial in lobbying for social legislation. They discovered that many impoverished clients could not attain self-sufficiency merely with economic support. The difficulties experienced when caseworkers attempted to meet the emotional problems of their clients from "purely" economic and/or psychological approaches did much to further the present rediscovery by social workers of the field of social psychology—of role theory and the situational approach. The realities of life have forced most practitioners monistically concerned with economic or psychoanalytic aspects of casework to modify their work to bring about change in the environment in which their clients live.

Social workers have also given concrete institutional expression to one of the central theories of the sociology of knowledge: Human perception and ideas are influenced by the social system in which they arise, its economic conditions, its value system, and other cultural and psychological considerations. The social work institution of *supervision* is rationalized on the basis of this theory that knowledge should be viewed in its situational context. Supervision is provided, in all agencies with good professional standards, not only for the fledgling practitioner, but also for those with considerable experience. The supervisor assumes the role of a watchdog against the undue projection of a practitioner's personal needs, social values, or past experience when working with clients, groups, and communities.

Social workers are practitioners of *social change*. This label is appropriate even for those who approach their work primarily in psychological terms. The psychiatric bias they profess is far more preached than it is practiced. Most caseworkers do more than therapeutic counseling. They help clients to change their environment. They may find them jobs, get a homemaker to care for children, or recommend that Johnny join a Cub Scout troop at the settlement house. Group workers lead friendship and activity groups. Community organization workers are active in neighborhood planning. They also plan and coordinate social services in the community. These diverse social work practitioners may have forgotten much about the content of the academic sociology courses

which nearly all of them have been exposed to. But they apply much of what sociologists teach. And they do more than that. Through experience they acquire new knowledge. Their hunches about social problems and services, if generalized and communicated, could be used by sociologists to formulate worth-while research and to improve the quality of their teaching.

#### SOCIAL WELFARE SOCIOLOGY

Present and future social workers constitute perhaps the largest group of direct consumers of sociological knowledge. Probably more sociology majors enter social work practice than any other single occupation. Some take social work jobs without further study beyond the bachelor's degree, particularly in the field of public welfare. Others obtain a master's degree in one of the 59 graduate schools of social work. Several dozens are now enrolled in social work studies in one of the 12 doctoral level programs.<sup>10</sup> Education, formal and informal, is highly prized in the profession. This fact is further indicated by the large number of in-service programs and institutes conducted by social work agencies for their staff.

Academic sociologists have shown little interest in this professional social system of social practice. There are course offerings in a variety of institutional fields of specialization such as industrial sociology, medical sociology, criminology, the family. But social welfare sociology is not yet a definite part of the academic structure of the field. This lack is all the more surprising if one considers that approximately \$20,000,000,000 were devoted in 1950 to public and private social service activities in the United States. Public health officials, juvenile judges, and employment interviewers, to mention only a few of these occupations, are also in the business of providing social practice services. There were approximately 100,000 persons engaged in activities defined by the census as social work. There are many more times that many individuals engaged in the welfare institutional network, the exact number depending upon one's operational definition of the field of social welfare.

The reasons for the undeveloped status of social welfare sociology would be an interesting subject of investigation. The social mobility

<sup>10</sup> In 1955, 76 students were enrolled in school of social work programs beyond the master's level. Most of these were interested chiefly in the "third year" program, a primarily clinically oriented experience of post-master's graduate education. Others, however, are planning to complete the requirements necessary for a degree of Doctor of Social Work or Ph.D. Council on Social Work Education, *Statistics on Social Work Education, November 1, 1955 and Academic Year 1954-55* (New York, Council on Social Work Education, 1956).

strivings of the field of sociology may have much to do with why in recent decades many academicians have avoided contact with activities of an ameliorative nature. Even when this is done in a research capacity, the "practical" aspect is viewed by some as a threat to the self-image of being a "pure scientist." Sociology graduate students have been more often attracted to fields of sociological specialization involving the more prestigious institutions, such as medicine and industry, than the study of the culture of social work and those other professions which devote most of their attention to serving the needs of the poor, the handicapped, the intellectually limited, and the economically indigent.

The profession of social work stands to sociology (and the other behavioral sciences) in a relationship like that of medicine to bacteriology, biochemistry, and biophysics. But there is considerable uncertainty in the thinking of social work educators and practitioners about the use of the body of knowledge transmitted to them in sociology courses.

One reason may be that a hypothesis formulated in a sociologist's mind is viewed by the social worker as a guide to decision making. When so used, it will affect real people in something more than an academic fashion. This leads to questions of just how valid these theories are.

The probability of nonapplicability of a theoretical formulation to a particular category of cases can be expressed neatly in the statistician's coefficient of nondetermination. But it has much more personal significance for the practitioner. He looks for a theory in which he can have clinical confidence. To the academician uncertainty and error are an invitation to do more research; to the practitioner, they are a worry. The unsophisticated degree of assurance with which psychoanalytic theories have sometimes been propounded was therefore much more reassuring than alternate social-psychological formulations presented academically with the intellectual modesty becoming to their tentativeness.

Yet this alone is probably no adequate explanation of why it is that so many social caseworkers, after years of undergraduate tutelage by sociologists, have ignored in their subsequent appreciation of the ideas of Sigmund Freud the relevancy to their work of the contributions of men like Charles H. Cooley and Max Weber. There is need for academic introspection of how sociologists communicate their ideas in textbooks and in their classrooms!<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Thomas D. Eliot made an investigation of the question of how sociology is taught more than three decades ago, but his observations and suggestions are still timely and relevant. See Thomas D. Eliot, "The Social Worker's Criticisms of Undergraduate Sociology," *The Journal of Social Forces*, 2:506-12; "Has Sociology a Contribution to the Equipment of the Social Worker?" *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 16:231-37; "Sociology as a Pre-Vocational Subject: The Verdict of Sixty Social Workers," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 29:726-46.

### CONCLUSION

Social workers aim to apply much of what sociologists suspect to be approximately valid on the basis of their theories and their research data. But the practitioners are also called upon to function beyond the known boundary of scientific knowledge. In meeting this role, they often discover hunches that will be the basis for advancement in knowledge whenever they are put to test. In other words, social workers furnish sociologists with a laboratory of social action, thought, and feeling. This is not always readily accessible, but there are enough instances of successful completion of research investigations of social practice problems by sociologists and others to support the following conclusions: Discoveries in the relatively "basic" behavior sciences can come about on the basis of examination of questions raised by practitioners and the hunches formulated by them from their experience.

## A PROBLEM OF REMUNERATION OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO MANGOLD'S PAPER\*

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Mangold's paper, it seemed to me, was an accurate report on the National Health Service and some of its social implications. There is one aspect of the scheme which always comes up in discussions of socialized medicine that I think should be further explored. That is: What about the financial remuneration of doctors? In my own thinking, these pecuniary aspects of the program are not of primary importance, but in the minds of many—particularly doctors—they seem to be of utmost pertinence. In England the pay of the doctors has recently been of concern to both the profession and the government.

The English doctors' dispute with the government about remuneration was being carried on at the time we were last in England (February to August 1957), and I made some effort to understand the situation. I talked with both general practitioners and administrators and read newspapers and journals. The *British Medical Journal* reviewed the history of remuneration under the National Health Service in an article in the issue of April 6, 1957. Much of the following information is taken from that source.

In 1946: Aneurin Bevan, the Minister of Health, in preparation for inaugurating the National Health Service, appointed a committee, the function of which was to make recommendations on remuneration of general practitioners, consultants, and specialists. This committee was known as the Spens Committee. It made two reports, one in 1946 and one in 1948. In these reports, the committee made recommendations as to the proper levels of pay for the two branches of the profession and was concerned also with maintaining levels of remuneration in the future, which were to be set after taking into consideration the value of money, that is, real purchasing power at the time. These recommendations were accepted by the doctors and by the existing Labour government as the basis upon which the profession entered the National Health Service. The legal status of the Spens report is still in question.

March 1952: After adjudication by Mr. Justice Danckwerts, which gave effect to the Spens Committee's recommendations for general practi-

\*George B. Mangold, "Social Aspects of the British National Health Service," *Sociology and Social Research*, 42:92-98, November-December 1957.

tioners (taking into account the change in value of money from 1939), a "betterment award" of 100 per cent was made, above the 1939 levels. The Minister of Health accepted the award as just, but pointed out that there was no justification for any assumption that such a raise represented an appropriate standard of remuneration for all professionals in the country.

By 1954, all three branches of the profession—general practitioners, consultants and specialists, and hospital staff—had received comparable salary increases.

June 1956: The profession submitted notice of intention to request increases in salary according to the Spens Committee agreement. The Minister of Health and the government (now Conservative) took the view that the remuneration of the medical profession, like that of others, must be determined from time to time in the light of all relevant circumstances, and that in the present circumstances they would not feel justified in giving consideration to any increase in medical remuneration. The doctors considered that the Spens Committee report, which had been accepted by the government, represented a contractual obligation to the profession. The government denied this, and charges were made in Parliament that the medical profession was trying to isolate itself from the effects of inflation which were felt by other working groups.

January 1957: Mr. D. Vosper was appointed Minister of Health. The doctors pressed the new Minister for a 24 per cent raise, which had been arrived at in keeping with the Spens report. The Minister announced that a Royal Commission would be set up to review medical and dental remuneration. The doctors did not consider a Royal Commission to be the proper agency to consider their claims and suggested that some form of arbitration be used to settle the dispute. In February, the General Medical Services Committee of the BMA recommended the resignation of general practitioners from the National Health Service if the government did not agree to "immediate and satisfactory settlement of claim or, alternatively, arbitration." This recommendation was later endorsed by the British Medical Association Council and, in addition, they resolved not to cooperate with the Royal Commission.

In April 1957, Mr. Macmillan announced that the government had decided to grant an increase of 5 per cent to all doctors and dentists. The doctors called this an arbitrary decision without previous consultation with representatives of the profession which, in accordance with the Spens report, it was obliged to do. Also they maintained that the cost of living had gone up by 24 per cent since the previous adjustment. They

recommended that the 5 per cent increase be placed in a "suspense account" and reiterated their desire for arbitration. However, after the Royal Commission had issued a statement on how it intended to proceed, the doctors changed their minds and decided that they would give evidence before the Royal Commission. The profession was not, of course, obliged to accept its decision. Also at this point the British Medical Association set up a committee to conduct an over-all study of the National Health Service with the aim of "eradicating those faults of the present system which cause dissatisfaction to the public . . .," not to do away with it.

June 1957: At a special representative meeting of the British Medical Association, the position of cooperating with the Royal Commission was confirmed, and withdrawal from the National Health Service was deferred.

July 16, 1957: At the British Medical Association's annual representative meeting, a "draft plan" was drawn up which was to be submitted later to the BMA Study Committee mentioned above. The draft proposed certain changes in method of payment, instituting charges for some medicines, and modifications in administration of the program. In presenting the draft to the meeting, Dr. H. H. D. Sutherland stressed its tentative nature and that the public interest was uppermost. He said that no significant changes in the National Health Service were expected in the next five to ten years.

It should be clear that the doctors did not attack the National Health Service; much less did they suggest its abolition. The fundamental rightness of the present system of administering health services has not been questioned. Socialized medicine is accepted by both the public and the doctors as the only morally and socially justifiable way to administer medical services in a civilized society. The doctors' threat to walk out of the National Health Service was effective only because of the existing consensus in the country in wanting the service to continue without interruption. A request for a raise in pay is not a demand for the abolition of the employing agency.

Although I followed the problem with considerable interest, I would not like to make a judgment as to whether or not the request for higher pay was justified. It may be pointed out, however, that the English doctors' income compares very favorably with that of other professionals in Britain.

In the National Health Service<sup>1</sup> a doctor is remunerated by a capita-

<sup>1</sup> Ninety-eight per cent of the general practitioners, 94 per cent of the dentists, and nearly all pharmacists are participating in the NHS. See *Health Services in Britain* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1957), pp. 7-8.

tion payment for each patient registered with him. In 1957, the payment was 17 shillings a year with an additional 10 shillings for every patient within the range of 501 to 1,500 on the doctor's list, plus special allowances for travel, for practicing in "less desirable locations," plus interest-free loans for acquiring premises for group practice, etc.<sup>2</sup> (There are different rates for specialists and other personnel.) The average doctor has 2,200 people on his rolls,<sup>3</sup> which means that he receives approximately 2,370 pounds a year (\$6,636). Less than 1 per cent of employed persons in England receive over 2,000 pounds a year.<sup>4</sup> A general practitioner may have a maximum of 3,500 patients on his rolls, in which case his income would be approximately 3,475 pounds (\$10,000) a year.<sup>5</sup>

"The starting salaries in many professional and technical careers are often in the range of 350 to 500 pounds a year. . . Most of the senior posts in business, the professions and the Civil Service are in the range of from 1,000 to 5,000 pounds a year."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Britain, *An Official Handbook* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1956), p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> *Health Services in Britain*, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Britain, *An Official Handbook*, pp. 272, 273.

## LOWER LEVELS OF LEADERSHIP IN INDUSTRY

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The distinction between formal and informal organization may serve to delineate the sources of motivation for accepting or rejecting the role-expectations of an organizational structure. Leadership plays a major role in recruiting identification with the organization's objectives, regulations, and directions. Most studies in the field focus on the lower level of leadership, the foreman, who is considered the direct bridge between formal and informal organization. These studies are mainly concerned with the conditions under which organizational demands are accepted and participants experience satisfaction or deprivation.

### I

What is meant by leadership in an organizational context is often not clearly defined. Many studies agree that leadership is a social relationship and not a personality characteristic. It is situational in the sense that a person may be a leader in one situation and not in another. But is leadership in organizations a role-characteristic independent of the incumbent? Some studies seem to imply that every foreman is a leader if he has authority, i.e., if his orders are legitimate to the workers. Although this is a matter of definition, we suggest that it is more fruitful to distinguish leadership from a role which carries authority (foreman, army officer).<sup>1</sup> While authority can be rational and external, accepted leadership always includes an emotional commitment to the personality of the leader.<sup>2</sup> Thus a foreman may have authority but no leadership, his orders being accepted for motives other than a personal commitment to him. This may have no apparent consequences in the ordinary industrial situation. But in crisis situations (e.g., fire, strike) and/or situations of rapid change, when orders outside the specific delimited area of authority have to be given and accepted, only the leader will be followed, while orders of the regular authority holder will be disregarded.

### II

If this distinction between leadership and authority is accepted, an intriguing substantive question arises: Does every organization need low

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Bierstedt, "The Problem of Authority" in M. Berger, T. Abel, C. H. Page (ed.), *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1954), pp. 67-81.

<sup>2</sup> In psychological terms one could claim that the relationship between leader and follower includes some elements of identification.

level leadership in order to function? The answer depends on the nature of the organization. The more diffuse its goals and requirements are, the more personal commitment it needs, and therefore the more leadership is required. The more specific its objectives and demands, the less leadership is required. In organizations with specific goals, acceptance of regulations and directions may be based on external needs of the actor which are satisfied through complying with the organizational requirements. A worker may fulfill his organizational role in order to earn a living and derive his psychological rewards for conformity to the factory rules and orders, from his family and his status in the community. Authority may also be accepted on cultural grounds, earlier socialization, etc., without personal commitment to the holder-of-authority in the formal structure.

Economic organizations, e.g., industry, are relatively specific organizations compared with most political parties and religious movements. Economic organizations themselves can be classified from this point of view. It seems that at least the more specific industries can do without eliciting identification by relying on external motivation and rational legitimization. Foremen in industry may be authority holders without possessing any leadership characteristics. We must learn under what conditions they become leaders. To assume that every authority holder is a leader is unwarranted by the existing data<sup>3</sup> and makes the connotation of the term "leader" too broad.

### III

Some industries, for reasons only partially understood, seem to require recruitment of identification with the organization as an internal source of motivation, since external sources are insufficient. Both formal and informal leadership are considered important factors in this process. It is not clear how the informal organization, when it exists, is linked to the formal organization. Does the authority holder take upon himself the role of leader of the informal group, or are these two mutually exclusive roles?

The Michigan studies seem to suggest that both roles can be combined.<sup>4</sup> A foreman may be *production oriented*: he emphasizes quality and quantity of performance, acceptance of orders, is not interested in

<sup>3</sup> In the initial stage of the process of change described by E. Jaques in *The Changing Culture of a Factory*, no signs of leadership can be recognized in the various authority holders, but orders are still followed and regulations are accepted.

<sup>4</sup> See Daniel Katz, N. Maccoby, G. Gurin, L. G. Floor, *Productivity, Supervision and Morale Among Railroad Workers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Institute for Social Research, 1950), Part I.

workers beyond their organizational roles, and would rather work than supervise. In short, a production-oriented foreman is an authority holder but not a leader. On the other hand, a foreman may be *human relations oriented*: he is interested in the workers' personalities, in guiding them, and in building a positive human relationship. Thus he attempts to create a personal commitment of the workers toward himself which means that the foreman attempts to become a leader. Whether this attempt is successful or not depends on many psychological and sociological conditions which cannot be discussed here. Thus there seem to be three alternatives: an authority holder without leadership (production-oriented foreman); an authority holder with leadership (some human-relation-oriented foreman), often referred to as a formal leader; and a leader without a position of authority, an informal leader.

Can the formal leader be the only leader of the informal group or must he work through an informal leader? The Harvard studies of Bales and his colleagues, when applied to our problem, seem to suggest that two leaders are needed, as in most cases one person will not be able to carry out both roles.<sup>5</sup> The two roles require different psychological characteristics and are to some degree contradictory in the very attitudes and actions they demand. The instrumental leader (who comes close to the formal leader) and the expressive leader (who is quite similar to the informal leader) are usually two different people. "Giving ideas" and "guiding" usually do not coincide with being well liked. A leader who puts on the group pressure to achieve more and better performance creates at the same time some amount of rejection and hostility toward himself. Therefore, the roles of tension releasing and increasing solidarity in the group are almost inevitably left to some other actor. Since the foreman, if a leader at all, tends to be an instrumental leader, some other actor, perhaps an elderly worker, will carry out the expressive role of the informal leader.<sup>6</sup> This problem concerning the possible relationships between the authority holder and the informal leader has practical implications for the human relations instructor and counselor who guide the foreman. Should the foreman strive to fulfill the role of the leader of the informal group or leave it to a worker, who has no authority position, and strive to be accepted by the group and supported by its informal leader?

<sup>5</sup> See T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 111-61.

<sup>6</sup> In this context a reversal of roles, where the formal leader is primarily expressive and the informal leader takes a primarily instrumental role, is quite unlikely.

The last problem to be discussed here is the pattern of the relationship between the two roles in those cases where they are separated. The relations may vary all the way from a coalition between the foreman and the informal leader to constant collisions between them. Directions given by foremen can be differentiated among (1) those which are given directly to the workers without prior consultation with or "informing" the informal leader, (2) those which "require" such consultation, and (3) those which are given indirectly, i.e., "told" to the informal leader to transfer to the group. The balance of rejection and acceptance has to be more carefully studied. Some rejections of orders by the informal leader are functional for the maintenance of the pattern of acceptance in toto. Too much subordination of the informal leader by the foreman and too much acceptance by the informal leader may undermine the following of the informal leader and in some cases leave room for the emergence of a leader more ready to reject the foreman's directions.<sup>7</sup>

Further analysis of the dynamic relations between the foreman and the informal leader must be complicated by introducing the roles of the steward and business agent. Are they formal or informal leaders from the point of view of the industry? How do they influence the dynamics of the relationship discussed above? Are there more than two basic types (mutually exclusive) of leadership? These are only a few of the questions which need further study in order to understand better the lower levels of leadership in industry in particular and in organizational structures in general.

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<sup>7</sup> This is the main point of tension in the political structure of the classroom in "Blackboard Jungle."

## MANNHEIM AND SYSTEMATIC SOCIOLGY

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In *Systematic Sociology*, which has been published posthumously and edited by ten of his research students, Karl Mannheim stresses the need for a framework within which sociological research can be efficiently conducted.<sup>1</sup> He aimed to bring about a synthesis between theoretical and empirical methods within an adequate universe of thought. He would have these two types of procedure develop together with each offering stimuli and balance to the other. To this end he attempted, with a measure of success, to construct a synthetic system of thought to which theory and experiment would mutually contribute.

Mannheim believed that the special field of sociology is found in the forms and processes of "human living together." In a larger sense, sociology describes "one by one the main factors of this living together" that may be found in every kind of society, beginning with primitive groups and coming down to and including all current social groupings.<sup>2</sup> Sociology proceeds, not haphazardly, but in a systematic manner, from simple to complex classifications and from casual and transient social contacts to the permanent "frame-groups" within which, as a rule, social contacts take place and which to a degree condition their expressions.

In addition to the study of the causes and results of all social grouping, sociology gives attention to the historical variations within the same social grouping, as for example in the family, and searches for the common features as distinguished from the special features.<sup>3</sup> Then, sociology considers ways in which the different social factors interact and offset one another in a given society during a given period of time, for example, how commerce and industry affect government in a particular society. Human living together is an all-comprehensive social process. Some of the subprocesses that Mannheim emphasizes will now be reviewed.

1. *Distancing*. Distancing is defined as "rendering something remote."<sup>4</sup> It signifies either a higher or a lower status "which limits the concept of social distance to what the present writer has defined as ver-

<sup>1</sup> Edited by J. S. Eros and W. A. C. Stewart (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff.

tical distance,"<sup>6</sup> and which ignores the important social field of horizontal distances. Distancing is viewed by Mannheim as being essential to "the persistence and continuity of an authoritarian civilization." On the other hand, the more democratic a society, the less the distancing.

The simplest form of distancing results in "fear distance," which, as in the case of animals, is based on relative strength. Fear distance leads to other types of distance, such as "power distance," which in turn leads to "the hierarchy of social rank" and, it may be added, to a "power elite,"<sup>7</sup> who operate behind the social scene and may influence or control the elected representatives of the people in a democracy.

One of the main functions of distancing is to maintain a social hierarchy (that is, by distance of the vertical type). Sophisticated procedures of dress, manners, conventions "can serve to keep up distance between the ruling groups and the subjected ones."<sup>8</sup> The same purpose is further achieved by limiting or excluding social relations, such as forbidding intermarriage.

"Existential distancing" refers to the closeness or remoteness between the personal selves of two persons, as distinguished from the distancing effected by acts of a social nature.<sup>9</sup> Existential distancing and social distancing "usually act simultaneously," but democracy "as a rule tends to diminish social distance and uncover the purely existential relationships" between persons.

"Self distancing" involves a separating of peripheral aspects of the self from the inner core of the self. It means that distance is created within the self. Mannheim puts this type of ambivalence in a somewhat startling way when he says, "an individual can be near or far from his own essential being, in the same way as he can be near or far from the essence of another person."<sup>10</sup>

2. *Individualization.* By individualization, Mannheim means making "the individual more or less independent of his group and to create in him a self-consciousness of his own."<sup>11</sup> This process is not carried through "solely by the individual himself" and is not primarily a mental or spiritual process which is being spread through the prevailing ideas of a time or place.

<sup>6</sup> E. S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Applications," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII:470.

<sup>7</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

<sup>8</sup> Mannheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65 ff.

Four main aspects of individualization are indicated as follows: (1) a process of "becoming different from other people," (2) developing new forms of self-awareness, such as "becoming aware of one's unique and specific character" and developing a new kind "of self evaluation or organization of the self," (3) individualizing one's wishes regarding external objects, and (4) a deepening of one's self or extending "the inner dimensions of self."<sup>11</sup>

Individualization may result from isolation, e.g., Beethoven's deafness (organic isolation) forced him "to live in exile," as he once said. The organic type of individualization, as distinguished from the physical type, may lead to special forms of behavior, such as "shyness, distrust, inferiority or superiority feelings, and pedantry."<sup>12</sup> Privacy is a form of isolation in which "man withdraws part of his inner self from public control."<sup>13</sup>

3. *Integration.* Integration is a major social process, for it makes living together possible. The term is the core concept in Mannheim's systematization of sociology. Around it all other concepts are organized.

Integration accounts for all types of grouping in society. It explains organized groups which are characterized by (1) a relative persistence, (2) an organizational structure with a division of functions, (3) traditional ways of doing and thinking, (4) certain norms or standards, (5) ideas about the functions of the group and its relations to other groups, (6) a collective interest, (7) a power elite, and (8) typical tensions as well as typical "repressive and discharging agencies."<sup>14</sup> Then, there are groups with a loose structure, such as a crowd and a public. The latter is defined as "an integration of many people not based on personal interaction but on reactions to the same stimuli" that arise without the members "necessarily being physically near to one another."<sup>15</sup> Moreover, there are special kinds of grouping, such as the dyad and triad, in which there are differences in personal behavior according to the number of the persons in the group.

Integration is also expressed in the form of social classes. A social class is a stable group which is "more a layer than a group," and which is formed of people who have "chances of similar experience." When vertical mobility from one class to another is stopped by "institutionalized regulations," the result is ranks or classes. Class consciousness is an

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103 ff.

awareness of "the similarity of social chances" and "an emotional tie" connected with this intraclass relationship.<sup>16</sup>

An extreme form of integration is monopoly, which "means the limiting of the chances of success prevailing in a given social scope of action to a certain limited number of people."<sup>17</sup> The members of a closed group, such as a monopoly or caste, tend to behave differently from members of an open group. They grow narrow-minded and intolerant and "hostile to anything which does not fit into the framework of their prejudices."<sup>18</sup>

An important integrating activity is cooperation, which arises in part from survival needs and in part from a recognition of advantages to be obtained by it. People may cooperate in order to compete. They may cooperate to fight. However, the priority of cooperation over competition is not recognized by Mannheim.<sup>19</sup>

Cooperation may be "simple collaboration" or may develop an elaborate division of labor, or it may reach "a division of professions." In a division of labor, the activities of one person or group find completion in the work of another person or group. It becomes "the strongest kind of social integration."<sup>20</sup> A division of professions is one of the most specialized types of cooperation.

4. *Competition.* There are forces in society which "compel people to act against one another" as well as to act together. One result is competition, which Mannheim defines as "a kind of a peaceful striving of several individuals or groups for the same good."<sup>21</sup> Competition may be psychological and create inferiority feelings which "make the individual active" or which paralyze him. Free competition can be abused and become "a tool of negative selection." In order to maintain fair play, free competition must "always be accompanied by certain binding rules and accepted standards."<sup>22</sup>

Competition leads to selection, and competition and selection "decide which human types, which standards, which thought patterns will be dominant in a given society."<sup>23</sup> Intensive selection may result in "the segregation of the weak," as in the case of slum dwellers. The segregated group becomes isolated and "unfolds its own mentality."

5. *Other Concepts and Conclusions.* Although social distance, individualization, integration, and competition receive major attention in

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> E. S. Bogardus, *Principles of Cooperation* (Chicago: The Cooperative League, 1958), p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Mannheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 98.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

the *Systematic Sociology*, other concepts are discussed, such as social conflict, social control, and social value. Mannheim contends that class struggles leading to social control by the proletariat are "not inevitable." They are "only a tendency" and "not the only form of transformation of society." There are other factors besides material production that lead to social change, such as increased nationalism and the concentration of people in metropolitan centers.<sup>24</sup> Mannheim does not believe that class struggles are inevitable, for through social reforms and the removal of those agencies that hamper normal evolution, class struggle can be made unnecessary.<sup>25</sup> Class struggle is not "a dogmatic necessity."

Social controls are a representative of authority, having objective expression in customs and laws and personal expression through the ability and prestige of leaders. Leaders are persons who exercise authority because of personality and not because of the office they represent.

Social values are not abstract entities but aspects of social processes and of "the valuating object or of the group for which they are valid."<sup>26</sup> Value is acquired "in the context of a certain activity, through performing a desired function."

*Systematic Sociology* is organized on the belief that there is a basic unity in the development of society. This unity functions in an all-comprehensive social and cultural process of living together. Had Mannheim lived longer than the age of fifty-four, he doubtless would have made substantial additions to his sociological system, which is unevenly but significantly developed.

<sup>24</sup> H. L. Vilenky and C. N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958).

<sup>25</sup> Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131 ff.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

**WHY MARRIAGES GO WRONG: HAZARDS TO MARRIAGE AND HOW TO OVERCOME THEM.** By James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958, pp. xi+224.

This book was written primarily for the guidance of those about to marry or already married, but the authors are also concerned with the importance of marriage in modern society. Instead of using numerous statistics and citing many references, the authors have drawn on many case histories from their long experience in dealing with this subject. The social pressures that lead to overemphasis on romance, to marriage at an early age, and to the use of marriage to serve individual rather than family ends are emphasized. Americans are the most married people in the world, but also the most divorced, at least insofar as total numbers are concerned. Several countries have had higher divorce rates.

The discussion starts with the emphasis on marriage as a serious business and on the way to understand marital and family problems. Then there are discussions of courtship and dating as preludes to marriage, romance, marrying one's own kind, the best age for marriage, individual rights versus family responsibility, marriage in an open-class system, parenthood, the family as a group; and the final question raised is: "What do we really think about marriage and family life problems?" On the whole, the book is thought-provoking, stimulating, and interesting reading, with many practical aids and suggestions for happy marriage and the avoidance of marital pitfalls.

M.H.N.

**CHRISTIANITY AND WORLD ISSUES.** By T. B. Maston. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957, pp. ix+374.

This might be called a book in applied sociology, although the author doubtless would prefer to call it "a work in applied Christian ethics." It is comprehensive in scope, dealing with the family and its future; races and racial tensions; economic life and problems; the sources, programs, strengths, and weaknesses of communism; the church and state; war and the Christian conscience; the world in crisis; and the relation of Christianity to world transformation.

The book is well documented, and the pros and cons of various solutions to problems are presented; the acquaintance with religious, economic, and sociological viewpoints is extensive. The discussions are intended for the use of teachers, preachers, and church workers in general. The tone is fair-minded and constructive.

A.R.R.

**THE GUILTY AND THE INNOCENT.** By William Bixley. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957, pp. 176.

William Bixley was for fifty years a supervisory official of the Central Criminal Court of London, better known as the "Old Bailey." An account of the history of this criminal court from the time of the Romans, remarks about famous trials, and the author's personal observations of trials comprise the contents of his book, *The Guilty and the Innocent*. The material, sufficiently startling in itself, permits his succinct style.

Mr. Bixley's stories include a recounting of a variety of types of crimes committed, but he himself seems unsure of the reasons which bring men to commit the crimes. He presents the facts of the cases, is assured that justice is done in court, but he stops there. Any reasoning as to why or how, or what can be done to rehabilitate the criminal, is only brief and vague. He makes only a short observation about the change he has seen in the men and women who have passed through the courts. "When I first went to work there was a very definite criminal class. . . . Today, even in proportion to the increase in population crime is not much more serious than it used to be, but the criminal is part of every class in society" (pp. 172-73).

One of the eleven chapters is devoted to a history of the "Old Bailey." This is followed by nine chapters describing some of the famous cases and trials in its history, and a brief concluding chapter. This short volume is interesting and easy reading, but for more than background material and the subjective observations of one man, the sociologist will have to look elsewhere.

HENRY L. MANNHEIM  
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**SOCIAL WORK IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION.** By Nathan E. Cohen. New York: The Dryden Press, 1958, pp. x+404.

The purpose of this book is to aid in the integration of the objectives, principles, services, and method of social work through a historical analysis of the development of social work in the United States in six periods of time from colonial days to the present. The analysis deals with American history in terms of "internal" and "external" factors. "Internal factors" refer to the social, economic, political, and scientific climate of the period.

Over the years social work found a methodology and a two-pronged approach growing out of two types of humanitarian influences, the giving

of charity and the reshaping of the environment. The two-pronged approach included a concern for the adjustment and development of the individual toward more "satisfying human relations" and for the "improving of the social institutions" within which the individual functions. Thus social work is concerned with the individual, the social institutions within which he functions, and the relationship between these two factors. The three primary methods for accomplishing these objectives are casework, group work, and community organization. Basic to all three methods are the understanding and the use of the "relationship." The development of social work theory, the evolution of the principles of social work, the practice of it, and its goals are well presented in this book.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

*George Pepperdine College*

**HANDBOOK OF CO-ED TEEN ACTIVITIES.** By Edythe and David De-Marche. New York: Association Press, 1958, pp. xxv+640.

As the title indicates, the major portion of the book deals with material for teen-age recreation activities at home and anywhere teen-agers may gather. The book is replete with practical suggestions and descriptions for leading activities in a wide variety of fields, including parties, dances, sports and games, beach and pool fun, music, reading, traveling, and hobbies. Six full chapters are crammed with "fun-how" on giving memorable parties. More than a thousand things to do during leisure are described. This is an invaluable book for parents and adult leaders, but the authors stress that teen-agers should be left largely to do their own planning. Material is also included to help adults to understand the adolescent group as well as to assist young people to enjoy socially maturing good times together. Nineteen pages of bibliographical material are included to assist those who desire to explore further the different types of teen-age activities.

M.H.N.

**THE OLDER WORKER IN INDUSTRY. A Study of the Attitudes of Industrial Workers toward Aging and Retirement.** By G. Hamilton Crook and Martin Heinstein. Berkeley: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1958, pp. vi+143.

With the set of procedures employed by the investigators and appearing in the several appendices, this study of the attitudes of industrial workers toward aging and retirement is valuable for indicating the necessity of developing some sound measures for testing and measuring physiological age as compared with chronological age. The sample survey included 846 industrial workers in the San Francisco and Los

Angeles areas during 1952-54. It embraced a comparison between a group averaging 35-40 years of age and one averaging 55-60, with about one third of the older group being 60 or more. Both male and female workers were included, although the males outnumbered the females. These came from twenty-seven different industrial firms. Are older people physically and mentally slow? Are they accident prone? Are they self-centered and demanding? The study aimed to test the credibility of these questions and to ascertain what the workers thought about aging and retirement and whether or not they had made adequate preparations for retiring.

Some findings are as follows: (1) Older workers display a reasonable degree of confidence toward the process of aging. (2) The closer the approach to retirement, the less workers want to think about it. (3) Older workers generally are less inclined to favor compulsory retirement. (4) Some of the older workers have continued to turn in high work performance ratings, suggesting perhaps that those who continue to work after 65 are in better health than those who have left the labor force. The findings have implications for the necessity of a review of retirement policies.

M.J.V.

**JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.** Edited by Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958, pp. xiv+370.

A flood of publications has appeared during recent years dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. The need for a systematic analysis of the widely scattered material has been recognized for a long while. Attempts have been made to systematize divergent yet related views and approaches to the subject. The present work represents a survey of the various phases of the subject by fourteen writers in the field.

The dimensions of the problem are indicated by a discussion of the diverse definitions of delinquency and the estimates of the extent of the problem in the United States as compared with selected countries of Europe and Asia. Special consideration is given to the legal aspects of juvenile delinquency. Proposals are presented for legal reform in delinquency legislation.

The major part of the book is devoted to discussions of "the search for causes." The biological, psychiatric, and sociological approaches are described and compared; and special chapters deal with the educational, economic, and mass media aspects of the subject. These are chiefly critiques of the various theories, approaches, and the major findings. Even though certain generalizations may be made on the basis of the

current state of knowledge, as is done in the various articles on causation, it is apparent that no systematic and definitive statement of basic causes of juvenile delinquency is possible. The specialized studies have contributed important information, but the findings of the various types of studies and approaches are not sufficiently integrated to make a comprehensive analysis possible. The need for a more definitive typology has been recognized for some time. The concept "juvenile delinquency" as generally described includes such heterogeneous behavior patterns that adequate theories of delinquency causation can hardly be developed empirically. The subgroups of delinquents need to be differentiated and studied objectively.

The final section deals with international trends in juvenile delinquency, indicating that youth problems are to be found around the world. The publications of the United Nations have indicated world trends.

M.H.N.

**SLAVERY.** By C. W. W. Grenidge. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958, pp. 235.

It will surprise many of the readers of this book to learn about the large amount of slavery that still exists in the world. Among the different forms are chattel slavery, slave trading, debt-bondage, peonage, sale of women into marriage, and slavelike adoption of children. The anti-slavery movement is reviewed, the work of the Anti-Slavery Society in England is described, the actions of the United Nations and of the League of Nations are canvassed, and a concluding chapter deals with "What Remains to Be Done." The total discussion is set within the concept of personal freedom. The important sociopsychical effects of slavery upon the subjects are not taken up in this factual and historical treatise.

E.S.B.

**HAWTHORNE REVISITED.** *Management and the Worker, Its Critics, and Development\** in Human Relations in Industry. By Henry A. Landsberger. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1958, pp. x+119.

In this summary and analysis of *Management and the Worker* and of its proponents and critics the stated purposes are: first, to show that many of the criticisms leveled against Elton Mayo do not apply to *Management and the Worker*; second, to review briefly the contents of the book. The author points out the following misconceptions: (1) that the counseling program was a minor part of the Hawthorne Studies, (2) that the authors explicitly place no faith in the efficacy of training

supervisors in human relations skills, (3) that the authors explicitly state that managers as well as workers are moved by sentiments, (4) that neither group is thought of as irrational because they have sentiments, and (5) that the prime motive for the formation of the bank wiring group was the desire of the group to resist change.

The review of *Management and the Worker* states that Roethlisberger and Dickson did present data that stimulated many specialists to make further studies and focused on (a) the effect of the situation on individual attitudes and (b) the effect of attitudes on subsequent individual behavior. The positive effects of this book, according to Landsberger, were (1) showing that empirical research within industry and organizations in general was possible, (2) broadening and changing the subdiscipline of industrial psychology, and (3) touching upon most of the problem areas into which the field of human relations is now entering. Any person interested in industrial sociology will gain considerable information about the Hawthorne Studies by carefully considering the analysis made by the author.

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**SUCCESS IN MARRIAGE: HOW TO MAKE THE MOST OF YOUR MARRIAGE.** By David R. Mace. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1958, pp. xx+158.

As the title indicates, this book is intended as a practical guide to successful marriage. The material is divided into four parts. Young people who are looking toward marriage should consider the five basic principles of choosing, preparing, adjusting, sharing, and maturing. Many married couples face no serious problems, but others may be confronted with problems pertaining to sex, money, work, in-laws, and parenthood. There are also difficult partners to live with, such as the "frigid" wife, the silent husband, the nagging wife, the unfaithful husband, and the aging wife. Jealousy, religious differences, wandering affection, childlessness, and gradual drifting apart may cause perplexing problems.

In discussing the principles and problems, the author presents excerpts from cases drawn from his long years of experience as a marriage counselor. Few sources are given and the discussions of the various topics are brief and concise. The major objective is to discuss the problems of almost every married couple, not only of those with serious difficulties, and to provide practical helps in dealing with those problems.

M.H.N.

**STATISTICS OF FARMER COOPERATIVES, 1955-56.** By Anne L. Gesser. Washington, D.C.: Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1958, pp. 73.

In this report it is stated that the members in the farmer cooperatives in the United States, according to the latest survey, have reached a grand total of 7,730,000, and the number continues to increase. The total gross volume of business done by them in 1955-56 exceeded twelve billion dollars. The number of farmer cooperatives remains about the same, but the average size of the cooperative societies has increased from 250 in 1926 to 783 in 1956. Minnesota and Wisconsin occupy first and second places, respectively, in the number of cooperatives. The farm products that utilize cooperative methods are headed by grain and followed by dairy products, cotton, livestock, and poultry products, in that order. It would seem that farmers are finding cooperatives an outstanding method for safeguarding free enterprise.

E.S.B.

**THE PRISON COMMUNITY.** By Donald Clemmer. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1958, pp. xii+341.

Even though this book is a reissue of the one originally published in 1940, the descriptive and analytical material has pertinence for the understanding of prison life today. In analyzing the structure and relationships of prison life, the writer is concerned with social processes rather than with matters of administration and management. The discussions deal with the composition of the prison population, the organization of the penitentiary, the social groups and relationships within the prison, leadership and social control aspects, rules and the dominant group, leisure and recreation, sexual patterns, social significance of labor, and the way the prison culture tends to determine personal attitudes. The author had no special hypotheses to test and from the methodological standpoint the study has shortcomings; but as a description of prison culture, based on many years of experience as a worker in prisons, the book not only is interesting but represents a valuable contribution to our knowledge of prison life.

M.H.N.

## PEOPLES AND CULTURE

**FRENCH WEST AFRICA.** By Virginia Thomson and Richard Adloff. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958, pp. 626.

This is virtually a handbook on many phases of life in French West Africa—political, economic, rural and urban, industry and labor, social and religious—and gives important insight into the problems of the natives.

**STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, THE MONTGOMERY STORY.** By Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. 235.

Like the famous Martin Luther of the sixteenth century days who was drawn into a momentous protest against certain injustices of his day, the author of this book was drawn into a deep-seated protest against certain injustices of a modern day. His description of a local protest movement, of which he was the courageous and the most important leader, is strikingly effective, and is bound to have world-wide repercussions wherever there are people who have suffered from unfair treatment at the hands of their fellows.

The book is more than the account of a protest movement and more than an autobiographical account of a relatively young man who, because of heroic leadership of his people in one local community, has suddenly become a world figure. It tells how one who had studied the works of Borden P. Bowne, Hegel, Jeremy Bentham, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Reinhold Niebuhr, Nietzsche, Rousseau, and Alfred Whitehead had accepted some of the teachings of each of these profound scholars and also had rejected some of the ideas of each one. Stage by stage he was pulled into a concrete practical situation full of political, social, legal problems, and therein demonstrated his deep Christian faith with reference to holding fast, despite desperate threats against his life, to the principle of nonviolent resistance. Gandhi could not have asked more of Martin Luther King, Jr., than the latter has done. If anyone is in doubt about what nonviolent resistance can do when personified by thousands of people laboring under a sense of injustice to the point where "they can take no more," let him read this book. Here is described a nonviolent resistance that actively resisted in terms of Christian love, without answering violence with violence or hatred with hatred.

E.S.B.

**THE CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLAND AND WALES:**  
1871-1951. By David C. Marsh. New York: The Humanities Press, 1958,  
pp. xiv+266.

This book provides a cautious quantitative description of changes in the composition, distribution, and differentiation of the population of England and Wales between 1871 and 1951. Basing his material primarily on decennial census data, the author describes variations in growth of population; in urban-rural population distribution; in family size and structure; in geographical, industrial, and occupational population distribution; in associational membership (trade unions, cooperatives, political parties, and religious organizations); in the distribution of wealth (income and property); and in patterns of social problems (morbidity, mortality, crime, and punishment).

The author is well versed in the limits and possibilities of his source material. He has set for himself the limited and useful task of describing some rather fundamental trends. Hence, while no attempt is made to relate or explain these trends, and facts are often left "to speak for themselves," the book does provide an excellent chronicle of apparently significant social changes. In addition, it is an adequate and authoritative guide to the primary sources of social statistics of England and Wales.

D.C.M.

**DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS.** By Melvin M. Tumin. With Eleven Graduate Assistants. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958, pp. xvii+270.

This study began as "an education venture" of training graduate students "in methods of research in the social sciences" but ended in "a systematic analysis of attitudes toward Negroes and toward desegregation of the public schools." The study was made by choosing by the random sampling method 287 adult white residents of Guilford County, North Carolina. The experiments were conducted so as to find out how differences in education affect attitudes toward Negroes, how occupational status and mobility affect such attitudes, and how exposure to mass media influence these attitudes. Two types of portraits are drawn, one "of the kind of person who is most ready for desegregation and the other of those who are most resistant."

Space does not permit a presentation of all the interesting experimental designs that were developed and used. An unusual definition of readiness for desegregation is given, namely, "to be unwilling to resist the Supreme Court order to desegregate." Resistance to desegregation is explained as

"to be willing to do any or several things to prevent desegregation, ranging from amending the United States Constitution to the use of force, if necessary."

Among the findings are these: (1) "A combination of high status, high income, high education, and high exposure" to mass media is "powerful" in its "influence on readiness for desegregation and in the development of a more favorable image of the Negro." (2) Readiness for desegregation is found in people having "the widest perspective on themselves and their communities, and the deepest sense of stake in the community-in-process." This study was carefully conducted and caution is expressed regarding the findings. Similar studies in other communities are needed as bases for comparison.

E.S.B.

**GAMES OF THE ORIENT: KOREA, CHINA, JAPAN.** By Stuart Chapin. Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1958, pp. 177.

A book first published in 1895, this volume is enlarged and covers Oriental counterparts of American games as well as various "quaint and imaginative" games of the Eastern world. The book is extensively illustrated by 135 "figures in text" and 22 Korean plates.

**NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE.** By Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1958, pp. 371.

In this book a married couple report on what would seem to be journeys into nearly every community in the Southern states. They are Southerners who have had widespread success in gathering firsthand reports and comments on how people in all walks of life and of all descriptions, both white and colored, feel about race relations. The interview materials are very extensive but admit of generalization only with a great deal of caution. The authors refrain from stating forthright conclusions but leave their interview types of source materials to speak for themselves.

The interview data seem to suggest a number of observations, as follows: (1) There is an increasing lack of free communication between whites and colored people. (2) It is better to talk about doing away with discrimination in schools than about integration. (3) To the whites integration means mixing the races, and mixing the races suggests miscegenation. (4) It is difficult for white people in the South today to take a moderate position regarding desegregation; it is difficult to discuss race relations even with one's friends. (5) A white person who publicly favors

integration is *persona non grata*. If in business, he loses trade; and if in a profession, he will lose clients and experience social ostracism. (6) It is easiest to integrate where about 10 to 15 per cent of the population are colored and hardest where they predominate, or where there are few Negroes. (7) Certain white sections of the South are being coerced into social relationships that they do not want. (8) Negroes who are better educated and better trained in labor skills are migrating from the South, leaving the South with a weakened labor force and with a surplus of lower-class colored people. (9) Negroes who fought for our country on foreign soil during World War II and in Korea want to know how long it will be before they will have civil rights at home. (10) White people who are not extremists for or against integration are largely nonvocal. (11) Negroes who become "belligerent" or "upstage" hinder their cause. (12) Dollars are not segregated. Because of the present racial conflict, there is a slowdown in industry, and new industry and money are slow about moving into conflict regions. These are but a few of the generalizations which are suggested by the interviews that are reported in this book.

E.S.B.

**THE OLDER POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES. A Volume in the Census Monograph Series.** By Henry D. Sheldon and Clark Tibbitts. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958, pp. xiii+223.

There is a wealth of information in the United States Census Reports, but few persons have time or skill to dig it out. The Social Research Council, in close cooperation with the Bureau of the Census, is now providing interpretation of these abstract statistics through a series of monographs related to particular fields of interest, by specialists in those fields. This book is the fifth such monograph. Dr. Sheldon, a former professor of sociology now chief of Demographic Statistics of the Bureau, has written the core of the book, with aid in applying the data to the problems of the aged by Clark Tibbitts of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Drawing upon census data, the authors portray the growth of the problem of the aged through extension of the life span, and the increase in both numbers and proportion of those 65 years and older. They show the parts played by epochs of diminishing human fertility such as the depression, followed by an increased rate of reproduction in the decade of World War II. The ebb and flow of immigration are considered. The marked geographic differences are discussed, such as the concentration of the aged in Florida and in some of the older suburbs

of California. Much attention is given to the diminishing participation of the aged in the labor force and the relation of age to employment in different occupations. The shifting mores of family living, with the breakup of the large family into small independent units and the relation of these facts to housing, income, and living conditions, are discussed.

It is regrettable, since much of the information is based upon records up to 1950, that the monograph could not have been published sooner. The authors have made up for this lack in part by frequently quoting recent studies by other agencies. An excellent appendix presents additional statistics relating to the respective chapters of the book.

JOHN B. GRIFFING  
*American International Association*

**MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN RHODE ISLAND.**

By Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1958, pp. 64.

Migration statistics are presented in order to "contribute to our understanding of the interrelations between the changes of Rhode Island's population, its social structure, and its economic growth."

**EAST TO WEST.** By Arnold J. Toynbee. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. xii+243.

This book contains the weekly articles that the author wrote for *The Observer* regarding his observations on "a journey round the world" from April 28, 1956, to August 3, 1957. He notes that for this seventeen months trip he gave a year and a half to planning the details. The journey included the land of the Incas, New Zealand and Australia, the Philippines, Japan, and various countries on the Asian continent.

A large share of the observations involves, first, geographic descriptions and then, more extensively, historical references to the vast range of conflict and struggle of peoples, such as those of India, Assyria, Iran, Palestine, Saudi Arabia. He tried to avoid the capital cities of countries and sought out the rural communities, for "even today, the countryside still remains the real world," and "every capital city is more or less unrepresentative." Modernization "standardizes urban life on Western lines." It is these offhand observations that give this book its charm.

E.S.B.

**MADE IN ICELAND.** By Grace Blaisdell Golden. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958, pp. vii+165.

In this Borzoi book "for young people" the author has done an artistic piece of writing about the life of the people of Iceland, with their intriguing history of over a thousand years. She tells how these people, inhabiting an island of volcanic origin close to the Arctic Circle, have built up a modern civilization with some accomplishments surpassing those of larger and better known countries.

After describing briefly such aspects of Icelandic life as their sagas, their New World explorations, their parliamentary government, their farming and fishing, the author specializes in Icelandic wood carving, goldsmithing, weaving, and needle arts. Her appreciation of Iceland is summed up in the justly deserved evaluation: "Today Iceland occupies a strategic spot on the map and bids fair to become a very important member of the world's family of nations."

E.S.B.

## SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

**EDUCATION IN SOCIETY: READINGS.** By Bernard N. Meltzer, Harry R. Doby, and Philip M. Smith. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958, pp. v+495.

This book of readings includes selections from a wide variety of authors in sociology, education, and related fields. The book is divided into ten parts, each dealing with various aspects of a certain area of educational sociology. Various authors define educational sociology and outline its scope and perspective. They discuss the cultural setting of education and the problems that arise because of cultural change. In indicating the significance of the school as an agency of socialization and social control, they point to the dangers involved in restrictions upon academic freedom and the effect of political control of textbooks and teachers. Other selections examine the relationships that exist between the school and the community, the role of the teacher in the community, and the class structure in the school. Attention is directed to the social factors in the learning process, such as social climate in the classroom, types of teaching approaches, and classroom discipline.

The book closes with a section dealing with controversial issues that plague the educational world: the "progressive education" issue, desegregation, religious instruction in the public schools, and the current educational crisis.

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS.** By Fritz Heider. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958, pp. ix+322.

Is there a system hidden in our thinking about interpersonal relations, and can this system be uncovered? Professor Heider does his best to answer these questions in the affirmative by offering "suggestions for the construction of a language that will allow" the representation "of a great number of interpersonal relations, discriminated by conventional language in such way that their place in a general system will become clearer." These suggestions may be utilized in building a "conceptual framework suitable to some of the problems" in the field. As he uses the term "interpersonal relations," it refers to the relations between a few, usually two, persons, and his discussions center on the person as the basic unit of the investigation dealing with that person "represented as standing in relation to and interacting with another person." Holding that common sense contains much psychological theory, Heider begins with simple illustrations of the behavior of two interacting persons in his "arrival at a description of the implicit theoretical models of perception, action, motivation, sentiments, and norms." By focusing attention on an analysis of interpersonal behavior in terms of some of the basic elements involved, the book offers some good materials for a better understanding of such behavior and provides "work notes towards a pretheory of interpersonal relations." These work notes at least may provide good stimuli for testing the worthiness of the author's construction of constant symbolic notations with which to make a scientific assessment of interpersonal relations.

M.J.V.

**THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION.** By Thomas Ford Hoult. New York: The Dryden Press, 1958, pp. xii+436.

Among recently published books on the sociology of religion, this one offers a structure and scope which may prove useful for the guidance and organization of courses offered in colleges. The book is essentially an extended outline of a sociological approach to the study of religion. The four major parts of the text may be indicated as follows: I, Basic Theoretical Considerations; II, Religion as a Social Institution; III, Religion and Other Major Social Institutions—including the family, political, economic, stratification systems, education, and science as institutions; and IV, Summary and Conclusions. An appendix features brief historical surveys of religions of the world, viz., Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

J.E.N.

**CLUES TO SUICIDE.** Edited by Edwin S. Shneidman and Norman L. Farberow. Foreword by Karl A. Menninger. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957, pp. xii+227.

This book, which is an outgrowth of a Western Psychological Association symposium on the psychology of suicide, is divided into two parts. The first consists of nine papers which briefly summarize current theories and researches on suicidal behavior. The emphasis here, as might be expected, is psychological, with the ideas of Freud, Menninger, and Zilboorg receiving major attention. Yet the effort is not a parochial one. The writers are cognizant of other points of view, and three of the papers are specifically devoted to nonpsychological factors in suicide. Henry and Short provide a synopsis of their theoretical position that suicide is the consequence of frustrations immanent in the status system. An interesting social-psychological analysis of the relationship between suicide and Catholicism is made by Ferracuti, an Italian doctor; Helen Silving, a professor of law, explores the often overlooked legal implications of suicidal behavior. The nine papers in the second part of the book deal with clinical considerations involved in treating the suicidal person. While this section may appear to be outside the realm of sociology, it should not be ignored by the sociological audience. Here are found some interesting case materials and some very frank and provocative comments by the practitioners concerning the difficulties they encounter in communicating with this type of patient (i.e., effectively taking the attitude of the suicidal person). Despite many weaknesses, this is a book which will serve as a useful and readable reference for sociological students of deviant behavior.

ROBERT ELLIS

*Stanford University*

**THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP.** Edited by C. G. Browne and Thomas S. Cahn. Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1958, pp. xi+487.

In this volume two psychologists have joined their efforts in producing an interesting and important book of readings on the subject of leadership. This has been a long-neglected field, as far as an appropriate and convenient set of readings is concerned. A total of 51 carefully selected and happily abridged readings are assembled under headings such as approaches to leadership, the trait-situation orientation, observation and participant evaluation methods, leadership criteria, social perception and personality dynamics of leaders, behavior of leaders, leaders and followers, and training of leaders. Well-known contributors include Ralph

M. Stogdill, Helen M. Jennings, Raymond B. Cattell, Theodore Newcomb, Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, Carroll L. Shartle, and F. J. Roethlisberger.

The selections cut across a number of areas of leadership, and the materials are drawn from both psychologists and sociologists. Leadership is not looked upon as "a set of attributes, but rather as a group of variables describing interactions among group members." The publisher and the editors have produced a commendable document. E.S.B.

**SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. A Book of Readings.** Edited by Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957, pp. xiii+578.

Characterized by an excellent selection of readings pertaining to various aspects of sociological theory, this book focuses attention upon a series of concepts which have been utilized in the field of sociology to account for uniformities of behavior. Fortunately, the editors have had in mind through their selectivity of concepts ("the variables between which empirical relationships are to be sought"), and the included discussions about them, the empirical investigations which have been induced or suggested for the future. Thus, they have pursued, as it were, "lines of investigation programmatically stated by the founders of our science." Specific comment may be made here on the introductory chapter, "Definition of the Field,"—definitely a superior exposition.

The readings are arranged under three major headings: General Concepts, Self-Other Concepts, and Structural Concepts. Under the first are placed readings dealing with culture, interaction, social control, power and authority, and cohesion and conflict. These selections are gleaned from such writers as Tylor, Malinowski, Kluckhohn, Simmel, Weber, Marx, and Durkheim. The second heading displays such writers as Thomas, Znaniecki, MacIver, and Mead, who devote themselves to the social situation, groups, and role-taking. The structural group concepts include among others the primary group, status, class, structure and function, and the sociology of knowledge. Some of these readings have been culled from Faris, Shils, Merton, and Hughes. The readings have been formally introduced with lucid explanations for orientation. The book as a whole is meritorious and built upon the idea that "theory is an indispensable part of the scientific enterprise." Furthermore, it is one which could be placed with great profit in the hands of those engaging in social research.

M.J.V.

**STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1958.** 79th Annual Edition. Prepared under the direction of Edwin D. Goldfield, Chief, Statistical Reports Division. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce, 1958, pp. xxxiv+1040.

The *Statistical Abstract* has been published since 1878 and is a standard summary of statistics on the social, economic, and political organization of the United States. It serves as a convenient volume for statistical reference and as a guide to other statistical publications and sources. The current volume has 1,197 tables and 42 charts. A 44-page alphabetical subject index and a 40-page bibliography of sources of statistical data enhance its usefulness. More than 60 tables are new. They include such subjects as recreational activities, research and development in the natural sciences, homicides and suicides, child adoption, and the contribution of the United States to international organizations.

Over a half million facts are recorded in concise form. Of special interest to sociologists are the sections on population, vital statistics, immigration and emigration, education, law enforcement, parks and recreation, labor force and employment, income and expenditures, social insurance and welfare services, communications, housing, and comparative international statistics. Governmental and economic data have wide applications.

The population of the United States continues to grow, having reached an estimated total of 170,562,000 by March 1, 1958. From 1940 to 1957 the population pyramid has changed considerably, with a wider base (age brackets to age 15), slight losses in the age group 15-24, and some gains in all other age brackets. The total births for 1957 reached an all-time high of 4,254,000 (a total of 4,301,000, if births are adjusted for underregistration) and the rate was 25.0 per 1,000 population. But the number of deaths increased by 71,524 over 1956, reaching a total of 1,636,000 and a rate of 9.6 per 1,000. Marriages declined slightly, but divorces increased slightly, after an almost continuous decline since 1946. The total divorces for 1957 was 382,000 as compared with 377,000 in 1956. The number of physicians, dentists, and nurses increased steadily, as did health services. The school enrollment, ages 5 to 34, reached a total of 41,166,000, an increase of nearly eleven million since 1950. The crime rate increased, with a total of 2,796,400 major crimes known to the police, according to the Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. On the other hand, recreation facilities and participation in recreation activities are steadily on the increase. For instance, visitors to areas administered by the National Park Ser-

vise totaled 68,016,000 in 1957, nearly twice the number of visitors in 1950 and ten times the number of visitors in 1943. Over 60,957,000 persons visited areas administered by National Forest Service. These are only a few of the numerous types of data contained in the 1958 edition of the *Statistical Abstract*.

M.H.N.

**THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER IN A CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS.** By Feliks Gross. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. xxx + 398.

Two types of violent transfer of power are discussed in this study: revolution from above and revolution from below. Revolution from above is a seizure of power by a group of armed men, at the very top of the social structure, while revolution from the bottom is largely the result of social disorganization, unrest, and of class struggle. The Russian Revolution of 1905 and 1917 and the French Revolution of 1848 were revolutions from below. The Latin-American revolutions are typical of revolution from above.

The focus of this study is on the pattern of actions and the major types of revolution. Attention is concentrated on the Russian revolutionary movement, though the empirical case studies cover coups and revolutions in Latin America, Egypt, China, Italy, Germany, France, and other countries.

J.E.N.

**SOCIALISM AND SAINT-SIMON.** By Emile Durkheim. Edited by Alvin W. Gouldner and translated by Charlotte Sattler. Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1958, pp. xxix + 240.

The editor points out the importance of considering the historical antecedents of present-day thinking; otherwise, we may get an exaggerated impression of current thought, and we may be setting an example for future writers to ignore what we of the present day may be contributing to social thought.

The editor indicates how Durkheim followed in the footsteps of August Comte and yet disagreed with him at certain important points. For example, Comte emphasized social consensus, while Durkheim held that too much social cohesion will lead to disorganization and hinder progress. In other words, the *status quo* can be stifling.

Durkheim responded to the theories of Saint-Simon by developing an extensive analysis of socialism as given in this book. As Marcel Mauss states in the "Introduction to the First Edition," Durkheim considered

socialism from "a purely scientific point of view," that is, "without prejudice and without taking sides." He never became a socialist and reacted against "certain features of this movement: its violent nature, its class character," and its "political and even politician-like tone." He desired change not for one part of society but for "the benefit of the whole of society." The book contributes to a better understanding, not only of Durkheim, but also of Comte and Saint-Simon, and leaves the reader free "to cut and choose" as he pleases.

E.S.B.

**METHODS OF RESEARCH IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES.** By Thomas C. McCormick and Roy G. Francis. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. xii+244.

Often graduate students in sociology when undertaking their first serious researches feel the need for friendly counsel on some of the methodological aspects of their projects. At the same time, jealously aware of their maturing abilities, they may be reluctant to reveal to their professors through questions just how much they have failed to learn in their courses. This book, *Methods of Research in the Behavioral Sciences*, should go a long way toward meeting the needs of most sociology students for such methodological counsel.

*Methods of Research in the Behavioral Sciences* is not a handbook of social research nor is it a dictionary of statistical techniques. Rather, it is a brief review of the most commonly encountered methodological considerations in social research, rounded out with learned commentaries and suggested sources of further information. The plan of the book approximates the order in which the student becomes aware of the problems involved. A brief chapter on the theoretical aspects of research is followed by chapters on choosing a problem, designing a study, and using the library and personal documents. Four more chapters then discuss measurement, surveys, sampling, tabulations, and tests. A final chapter discusses the preparation of a report and the possibilities of its publication.

It should be noted that the title of the book somewhat overstates its case. Anthropologists and psychologists will not find much methodology in the book that is not clearly *sociological* or at the most *social research*. Nevertheless, the book should prove invaluable not only to graduate students of sociology but also to all those social science students who need a review of methodology in order to appreciate more fully the methods and statistics reflected in current journal articles.

JOHN F. CROWTHER  
*Compton College*

HUMAN POTENTIALITIES. By Gardner Murphy. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958, pp. x+340.

Over one hundred years ago, August Comte attempted to reveal to man his power to control, through scientific knowledge, the paths to a well-being of all societies. In this book, psychologist Gardner Murphy essays a similar task but with a wealth of far more knowledge about man's scientific achievements than it was possible for Comte to entertain. In short, the task is simply worded as follows: revealing how "thoughtful men and women define the various kinds of future societies and the various kinds of individual lives which are realistically possible, and make conscious and voluntary choices," for the purpose of supreme realization of themselves as social human beings.

Despite the crises of the present—social, economic, political—in which men find themselves, and which are loaded with hundreds of uncertainties, the point is made that the discovery "of our own identity, belief in ourselves and in the use of the intellectual weapons of a democratic society—a science-minded and technology-minded society—can strengthen those moral, intellectual, and social devices without which, in a world such as this, there is no strength at all." Is there any chance for discovering "especially through the ways of science and the intellectual children of science, a new kind of human living?" For answer, the author begins to examine and analyze three kinds of human nature, the first, "a rich amalgam of instinctual drive, effort to understand, and general learning ability," the second, "organized around symbols and values" capable of being shared over regions of space and time, and the third, that which involves a spirit of intellectual adventure, a living curiosity culminating in a demand for and a discovery of man's greatest potentialities.

Three parts of the book are occupied with excellent elaborations of these three kinds of human nature, while the fourth part discusses self-directed change. The book concludes with the general subject, "Man and World," and ends with a fine essay on the human natures of the future. Daring to end on an optimistic note, Murphy avers that "if we cannot make rapid gains in the control of conflict, there will be no human future," but if we can, "the future extension of scientific and esthetic interest, together with the evolution of greater capacity for satisfaction in relations between people . . . will define a widening theater for the development of new potentialities." Summary: challenging, stimulating, enriching.

M.J.V.

DIE SKEPTISCHE GENERATION. Eine Soziologie der deutschen Jugend.  
By Helmut Schelsky. Duesseldorf, Germany: Eugen Diederichs Verlag,  
1958, pp. 523.

One of Germany's foremost sociologists of the younger generation writes an analysis of German youth in encyclopedic length and depth. According to Schelsky, there are many sociological *Schichten* (layers) of the youth problem, such as the meaning of youth for society and the meaning of society for youth. He describes between these two "social horizons." It seems that Schelsky develops the theme of the "skeptical" youth from the interrelationship of today's *Jugendbewegung* (Youth Organization), the youth's political subdivisions of political parties, and the *zeitgeschichtlichen Phasen einer Verhaltensgestalt der deutschen Jugend* (contemporary phases of behaviorism of German youth). While the first part of the book is devoted to theory of the interrelationship between youth and society in general, the second and third parts deal with environmental and social "forces" imposed on, or imposed by, youth in Germany. Today's role of youth in the family, its authority, tension, and *Ersatz*, the role of youth on the labor market including apprenticeship, and *Wander- und Meisterjahre* (years of wandering and mastery of skill), sex differences and discriminations on the job, recreation and sociability are discussed. The book closes with fascinating descriptions of, and comparisons with, pre-World War II conditions of youth's attitudes toward politics, morals and morale, youth organizations, education, religion, and the state. The volume, all told, aims to present the *Uebergang* (transition) of youth from one era to another and youth's skepticism toward all and "old" ideologies. HANS A. ILLING

FREE SOCIETY AND MORAL CRISIS. By Robert Cooley Angell. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1958, pp. ix+252.

This essay deals with moral and social integration in a free society. Among the problems of a technical society such as ours, emphasis is placed on the hazards to which disintegrated sections of its cities expose the life of youth. It becomes apparent that the pluralism of our culture prevents the simple integration of individual life which more homogeneous societies achieve. A characteristic of the author's analysis is his emphasis on moralization in preference to socialization as fundamental in the diagnosis of individual and group deviants or delinquents, and achieving for them social and moral integration. J.E.N.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN DESEGREGATION: A SYMPOSIUM. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958, pp. 48.

This collection of papers is full of meaty suggestions. Martin Deutsch writes on "Some Perspectives on Desegregation Research"; Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, on "Some Problems and Prospects for Research on the Function of Churches and Religion in the Desegregation Issue"; Robert T. Bower, on the "Role of Opinion Research in Desegregation"; Melvin M. Tumin, on "Some Problems for Sociological Research in Desegregation"; Bonita H. Valien on the "Role of the Social Sciences in the Desegregation Process" (St. Louis and Clinton as case studies). These and other papers suggest to advanced sociology students many important problems for research. An underlying contention is that sociologists as citizens have a responsibility to do something about the findings of such research.

E.S.B.

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. By Paul H. Landis. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958, pp. xi+726.

Many textbooks have been published for introductory courses in sociology. To add a new one requires some justification for its publication. It should have some uniqueness in organization, emphasis, presentation of subject matter, and appeal. The author attempted to "make sociology a vital subject in the student's experience" because of a conviction that the "introductory course should be one of the most humanizing influences in the college curriculum." With this in mind, the book begins with the concept of culture, which the author feels is usually fresh and revealing to the student. This is followed by discussions of society (groups in interaction); social structure and its operations; personality and its problems in a group context (the self and society); social control, disorganization, and planning; and the basic social institutions.

The forty chapters indicate the comprehensiveness of the treatment, even though some of the chapters are only a few pages in length. The material is presented concisely and in a readable and understandable manner, with numerous illustrations and practical applications. A minimum of statistical material is used. Ample use is made of graphic aids. Each chapter has a summary, questions for discussion and review, sourcebook readings, and selected readings. Certain sourcebooks are referred to repeatedly. The definitions of terms are made an integral part of the descriptive material, and most of them are either illustrated or related to practical situations that students can easily understand.

Some of the best sections are those that deal with culture, society, and social structure. The section on social institutions is fairly comprehensive, except that recreation institutions are omitted. Less satisfactory are the discussions of social disorganization and personality factors. Discussions of such subjects as population factors, collective behavior, and social problems are found in various sections and are not presented in an integrated manner. It is obvious that an author must make choices in selecting the topics to emphasize and the material to be included. There is as yet no agreement about the basic content of an introductory text in sociology. On the whole, the textbook by Landis is one of the most satisfactory attempts to cover the basic material and to present it in an appealing manner.

M.H.N.

**SOCIOLOGY.** Joseph H. Fichter. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957, pp. 427.

*Sociology*, by Joseph H. Fichter, is an introductory text for the beginning student in sociology. It is, however, a sociological work and not a preliminary to the study of sociology. Concentration has been focused upon the fundamentals of sociological science and no attempt has been made to extend into related fields of study.

The text is divided into three sections: I. Person and Society, II. Patterns and Culture, and III. Culture and Society. The first section begins with the minimum unit of society, the social person, and evolves to the total society. Part II starts with the basic component of culture, the culture pattern, and evolves to the total culture. The third section analyzes the manner in which society and culture and their components are intertwined throughout the entire sociocultural system.

Discussion questions and bibliography are provided after each chapter. Particularly noteworthy are the series of "original readings" which each chapter contains. These readings discuss various American phenomena pertinent to, and illustrative of, the principles and generalizations contained in the chapter; for example, the chapter on social categories includes discussion of such topics as class consciousness of Americans, the shifting Negro category, and categories reached by advertisers.

*Sociology* is a clear and objective presentation of the basic concepts of sociology. It should prove useful both to the student and to the serious general reader. Joseph Fichter is a Catholic priest, but, as he states in his foreword, fundamentals are presented without moralizing from any particular ethical point of view.

BILLYANNA NILAND

**EDUCATION ON THE AGING. A Selected Annotated Bibliography.** By Betty Arnett Ward. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1958, pp. 145.

This document of over 700 annotated references to educational programs and activities treating of "vital, purposeful living during the years of later maturity" does not deal with social, recreational, or economic aspects of aging. Master's theses and doctor's dissertations are not cited. The materials suggest several propositions, such as (1) education "is a lifelong process," (2) individual differences "are more marked among adults than among children and youth," (3) foundations for education in later life "should be laid in early childhood and youth."

E.S.B.

**PERSONALITY. An Interdisciplinary Approach.** By Louis P. Thorpe and Allen M. Schmuller. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958, pp. v+368.

This well-conceived and finely written book on the subject of personality reviews and evaluates "some of the propositions on the foundations and determinants of personality in an attempt to discover the principles and laws governing personality formation and development and point to the more fruitful lines of study designed to fill in the gaps of our knowledge." After a brief introduction, it begins as it should with a well-founded discussion of the biological basis of personality, including some attention to genetic origins, endocrine functioning, motivation, and the affective factors. Based upon a "patterned eclecticism," the authors have taken full advantage of the findings of some of the more important researches in personality gathered from a variety of disciplines. These are presented with due relevancy in the text. Some are centered upon personality development in its relationship to environment and its cultural determinants. Needed attention has been given to the major contributions of psychoanalysis.

A good contribution may be found in the chapter entitled *The Organization of Personality*, in which the various frames of reference—traits, attitudes, factors, and dimensions—are presented, while the research experiments dealing with these are subjected to review and criticism. The book concludes with an excellent chapter on the interdisciplinary necessity for arriving at what is called a "closed theory of personality," a theory which will probably need to recognize and scientifically demonstrate that personality arrives as a result of a total process involving the interaction of the individual with all of life's experiences. M.J.V.

KULTUR OG FRED. PITIRIM A. SOROKINS SOSIALE OG HISTORISKE FILOSOFI. By Johanne Reutz Gjermoe. Oslo: Olaf Norlis Forlag, 1957, pp. 192.

This interpretation of Sorokin's social and historical philosophy is virtually a selective digest of his views on culture and peace, as revealed in his publications up to 1954. Among the principal subjects developed by the author are cultural systems, the significance of art, morals, and lawmaking in the crisis of our age, social conduct or behavior, and a more extended section dealing with war and revolution.

J.E.N.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. By Gladys Sellew, Rev. Paul Hanley Furley, and Rev. William T. Gaughan. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. xxvii+598.

Introductory textbooks in sociology are becoming quite numerous. There must be some justification for a new book in this field. The authors have two groups of students in mind: those who take only one or two courses in sociology for its general cultural value and those who intend to major in sociology and perhaps go on to professional work in the field. Another reason given is that it is frankly and intentionally a Catholic treatment, but the authors do not substitute "pious generalities for the facts of empirical science." Sociology deals with human group behavior, but it touches on moral issues and religious truths. In such instances the Catholic position is stated.

The book is divided into six main parts, dealing with an introductory section on sociology as a study of society, followed by sections on culture, man's social nature, social interaction (social processes), social organization and structure (social institutions), and population and community factors. The discussion of social disorganization and of social problems is limited.

The subject matter is systematically organized, clearly stated, and written for students rather than for professional sociologists. Statistical and other dated material is kept to a minimum. Each chapter begins with an outline, which is repeated in the chapter, and closes with a concise summary, a limited number of questions and topics for discussion, and a selected bibliography. Other than a series of thirty-two well-chosen pictures, there are few graphic aids or other special helps to learning. Chapter Four on Briefs of Books and Articles Illustrating Certain Phases of Social Organization is an exception. It consists of readings about various contemporary societies, which are used as a basis for much

of the discussion in the ensuing chapters. More of such reference material would have added to the value of the book.

The authors stress what, in their opinion, are the newer trends in the study of sociology: greater cooperation with other sciences, especially other social sciences, increasing emphasis on the sociology of childhood, and a more precise concept of environment.

M.H.N.

**SOCIOLOGY AND THE FIELD OF EDUCATION.** By Orville G. Brim, Jr. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, pp. 93.

In this document which was prepared for the American Sociological Society, the author reviews the "basic research studies of the institution of education which have employed the concepts and theories of sociology," and he "seeks also to indicate those areas of study which have been neglected by sociologists." The concluding chapter "considers the roles which the sociologist has taken, and potentially could take, so as to further his contributions to education through theory and research."

The subjects that are treated include the aims of education; the allocation of materials; the allocation of personnel, both educators and students; the roles of both educators and students; and the functions of education. Each of these subjects is treated in terms (1) of the work done, (2) of accumulated resources, and (3) of a projection into developmental planning. About 100 basic references are treated in this manner and are included in a classified bibliography. This booklet will be useful in a number of ways, not the least important of which are the many pertinent suggestions that it makes to graduate students in sociology who wish to do advanced research in what may be called the sociology of education.

E.S.B.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL STRESS.** By Irving L. Janis. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958, pp. xiv+439.

The author, a psychologist who was trained at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, states that his "primary purpose" in writing *Psychological Stress*, "is to highlight the theoretical implications" of data revealing the dynamics of adjustment to objectively dangerous life situations. The particular form of stress chosen for study is surgery.

The first part of the volume presents a detailed account of the reactions to surgery of a patient whom the author was treating as part of a psychoanalytic research project at Yale University. A number of heuristic hypotheses were derived from the depth material of this analysis before and after her hospitalization.

In the second part of the book, which is concerned with behavioral studies, there is an effort to discover the factors that play a major role in increasing or decreasing postoperative fear and anger. A series of thirty patients randomly selected from the surgical ward of a general community hospital provide the chief source of evidence. The relationships between preoperative and postoperative attitudes were validated by a follow-up questionnaire survey of 149 Yale undergraduates who had recently undergone surgery. The results indicate that those who react with a moderate degree of anticipatory fear are less likely to have a history of psychoneurotic disorder than individuals at either extreme of the fear continuum. The need for adequate psychological preparation for stress, through the "work" of realistic worry, is emphasized.

In conclusion, Janis points up the importance not only of replicating his study of surgical trauma, but also of checking his hypotheses in other types of situations involving external threat. In his opinion, research in the area of objective danger could profitably be extended and adapted to subcultures of ethnic, social-class, religious, and national origin.

Despite certain serious methodological flaws concerning which the author is commendably apologetic, *Psychological Stress* fulfills his expectation of making a significant contribution to the theory of stress. The many social implications make Janis's book well worth reading not only by psychologists and psychiatrists but by other behavioral scientists as well.

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**THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDOM.** By Christian Bay. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958, pp. xii+419.

For ages men have struggled with the idea of freedom, attempting to define its significance as applied to society and to the individual. From earliest times social thought has concerned itself with the themes of either service to or manipulation of people. In this book the author undertakes a thoroughgoing inquiry into the heart of the matter about freedom and succeeds in producing a work that should prove to be a most effective reference for a timely topic. At the outset he indicates that the recent demand for the services of the behavioral scientists "has been in connection with leading or manipulating people." His present purpose is linked with an opposite demand, producing "insights into human behavior" so that they may be employed "in the service of sheltering the growth of individuality and freedom in modern society."

The Introduction is concerned with a brief discussion of the present types of obstacles which restrain the development of modern man in Western civilization: namely, defensiveness, limiting psychological freedom; coercive actions limiting social freedom; and limitations on potential freedom or freedom from manipulation. The major portions of the book are devoted to demonstrating how far modern psychology may be brought to bear light upon those freedoms which mean self-expression (psychological), those that refer to the relative absence of perceived external pressures on the individual (social), and those referring to the "relative absence of unperceived restraints upon individual behavior" (potential).

In the quest for maximal freedom, which Bay considers equally desirable for all, the most difficult empirical problem arises, how to determine "the criteria for compatibles between various freedom values for the same individual and between various freedom demands of different individuals." In the final chapter on policies toward freedom, some necessitous limitations are discussed, one such being that cultural and educational matters should be under the jurisdiction of those who have a strong concern for these questions. Here, it may appear to some readers that Bay's policy preferences on the attainment of maximal freedom smack of bias and that he has departed from scientific appraisal. However, his discussions, especially on freedom, restraint, and power, are provocative, always stimulating, always enlightening.

M.J.V.

**CRIME AND INSANITY.** Edited by Richard W. Nice. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958, pp. xiii+280.

The chief question discussed in this book is: When shall a man be held legally insane and thus escape the penalty dealt out to other normal criminals? Twelve experts in jurisprudence, psychology, prison psychiatry, education, and sociology discuss various aspects of the problem. The term "insanity" has a legal rather than a psychiatric connotation. Schizophrenia, paranoia, and related forms of mental disorders usually come under the legal designation of insane. The various authors discuss the principles of punishment, irresistible impulse and criminal responsibility, the differential association theory and forms of compulsive crime, psychiatric and sociological variations in the analysis and interpretation of the criminal act, the various applications of the legal designation of "not guilty by reason of insanity," the conflict between law and medicine in judicial practice, the pros and cons of the *NcNaghten* and *Durham* rules, the functions of psychiatrists and psychologists in courts and in prisons, and the "Model Penal Code" formulated by the American Law Institute.

A questionnaire sent to over three hundred psychiatrists of the American Psychiatric Association included the question: "Do you believe the right and wrong concept as promulgated by the McNaghten case is satisfactory?" Only 12 per cent stated that it was satisfactory, 79 per cent believed it unsatisfactory, and the others were not certain. One of the main reasons for not endorsing the right-wrong test is that it lacks scientific reliability. It is difficult to determine the existence or nonexistence of an individual's ability to know right from wrong at the time the crime is committed.

M.H.N.

**EMOTIONAL DYNAMICS AND GROUP CULTURE.** By Dorothy Stock and Herbert A. Thelen. New York: New York University Press for the National Training Laboratories, 1958, pp. xviii + 296.

The National Training Laboratories, a section of the National Educational Association, engages itself in research in, and application of, social science in certain particular areas of human relationships. In this book may be found the reports of a research program with a psychiatric approach to the group-as-an-organism, meaning the consideration of "emotional phenomena as central objects of direct study," and viewing "the group as a system whose properties would depend upon the network of interaction among its members." Guiding the research program, five postulates and nine propositions emanating from them were formulated to guide the experimental investigation. Several of these propositions have to do with what psychiatric therapist W. R. Bion has termed two different modes of group life: "emotionality"—characterized by high feelings, disorder, contagion—and "work"—characterized by sobriety, orderliness, and reflection.

Much use is made of his term "valency," defined by him as "a capacity for instantaneous and involuntary combination of one individual with another, for sharing and acting on a basic assumption." Combining with others implies the capacity of individuals to support or cooperate with other group members in furthering or moving away from group objectives or group culture. The training groups studied were designed to help "members improve their understanding of group operations and of their own feelings and behaviors in group situations." Some of the findings are obvious, but in the Preface an apology for this is made in advance. The obvious may be confirmed by research, but doors are opened to new ideas.

M.J.V.

# Sociology and Social Research

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## *Articles in Forthcoming Issues . . .*

March-April and later

Measuring Marriage Satisfaction	NATHAN HURVITZ
Social Problems in Pakistan	JOHN E. OWEN
Attitudes of Teen-agers	T. B. JOHANNIS, JR., AND JAMES ROLLINS
Political Participation Among Orientals (Hawaii)	G. YAMAMOTO
Groups Versus the Individual	F. T. CARLTON
Reappraisal of Comte's Sociology	RUSSELL MIDDLETON
Bilingualism in Hawaii	NORMAN MELLER
Sociology of Alfred Weber	RUDOLF HEBERLE
A Theory of Social Change	OTAKAR MACHOTKA
Sociological Contributions of Znaniecki	THEODORE ABEL
Status and Social Tropism	E. C. McDONAGH
Ethnic Prejudice and Social Class	A. L. ROSENBLUM
Division of Labor Among Communal Groups	HENRY ZENTNER
Attitudes Toward the Family	PANOS D. BARDIS
Social Distance Scales and Stratification	F. R. WESTIE
Computers and Social Research	E. F. BORGATTA AND J. ROBBIN
Group Processes and Prohibition	NORMAN JACKSON AND M. SHERIF
Self-Tattooing Among Delinquents	JOHN H. BURMA
Occupations of Sociology Majors	MARGARET L. HELBRICK
Empathy in the Dating Situation	R. L. STEWART AND G. M. VERNON

## *Articles in Preceding Issue . . .*

November-December 1958

The Concept of the Group	MARIE L. BORGATTA
Areas for Research in Leisure	MARTIN H. NEUMAYER
Teaching Sociology by Radio and Television	THOMAS F. HOULT
Teaching Sociology via Television	MARVIN B. SUSSMAN
Teaching Sociology by Means of Television	R. A. SCHERMERHORN
Measuring Group Opinion	L. K. NORTHWOOD
Economic Motivation in Ethnic Relations	RALPH R. IRELAND
Racial Distance Changes in the United States	EMORY S. BOGARDUS



